

FOCUS

Call for National Meetings
of Black Political Officials
(see page 8)



From the *Why Not?* to the *How To*

Now that Jackson has declared his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, supporters and opponents alike wonder: How will Jesse run?

Shelving Immigration Reform

Scuttling Simpson-Mazzoli, Tip O'Neill asks: "Is there any real constituency for the bill?"

Foreign Trade Policy and Unemployment

U.S. protectionism will be a hot issue in the 1984 campaign. What does it have to do with blacks? Plenty.

Plus—

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Perspective

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During the past 12 months, the black vote has been endowed with a respect long sought but never before received. It now looms as the wild card or the "X factor" in the 1984 elections. A number of developments account for this turn of events.

A string of recent mayoral victories (Harold Washington in Chicago, Wilson Goode in Philadelphia, Harvey Gantt in Charlotte, and James Sharp in Flint) and Jesse Jackson's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination are sometimes cited as the cause of the recent upsurge in black political participation. But these developments are the result of a movement much bigger than the candidates.

In the 1982 mid-term elections, black voter participation increased 6 percent over 1978, while white participation increased 3 percent. As a result, the gap between black and white turnout, normally 10-15 percentage points, was reduced to 7 points, the smallest ever. Looking at the 1982 returns another way, black voters contributed crucially to the winning margins of the governors of New York and Texas and the victories of 21 black members of the House of Representatives (an all-time high). They also sent some House members home, most notably several conservative Republicans in the South. Now, more than a year later, we can look back on the political activism in 1982 as the tip of an iceberg headed for the 1984 elections.

What accounts for this upsurge in political participation? The conventional wisdom is that the Reagan administration is the catalyst. A Gallup poll last year showed that nonwhite disapproval of President Reagan's job performance exceeded approval by a whopping 77 to 12 percent.

But is this the only reason for the upsurge? I think not. It does not give proper credit to the strong, attractive black candidates running in both 1982 and 1983—both winners and losers (Tom Bradley, Robert Clark, and Mel King, to name a few). Nor does this thesis give due credit to the charismatic Reverend Jackson, who was preaching voter registration long before he was seeking the Democratic nomination.

There were also a number of very successful voter mobilization campaigns. Certainly, the contin-

uing, often unheralded efforts of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, the Voter Education Project, the NAACP, National Urban League, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference—not to mention PUSH—made an enormous contribution to increased political awareness and participation.

To all these factors—Reaganomics, black candidates, voter mobilization programs—still one more must be added. It is the quiet determination of blacks to use the political process as a vehicle for self-help, social change, and economic survival.

This new political activism beats in the bosom of the community, and that is good. We control it—not the administration, not the candidates, not the mobilizers. And when we decide to sharpen our political participation as the new cutting edge of the civil rights movement, we become a force to be reckoned with.

In a way, Harold Washington and Jesse Jackson, as well as many others, tapped into this new political circuitry that predated their candidacies. The community was in search of leaders. These candidates filled a vacuum.

Thus, regardless of the political outcome in 1984, one large gain has already been made: We know we can make a difference and that we have candidates with "the right stuff."

We know there is hope when the grass roots and the bourgeoisie are both turned on by the prospect of a black presidential candidate; when black staff from foundations, academia, and corporations volunteer to help develop a policy framework for racial justice; when black elected officials from all levels of government—not just the highly visible leaders—meet to discuss issues and strategies (see page 8) and when a woman from Tucson writes me with these questions:

"What can I do to establish an active campaign here? How would I go about getting the necessary funds, and how can we establish a program to register people and take registered voters to the polls on election day?"

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Jesse Jackson: Why Not? to How To

by Thomas E. Cavanagh

(The author is a research associate at the Joint Center.)

Jesse Jackson ended months of speculation by declaring his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination on November 3.

Accompanied by a diverse array of political leaders and activists, Jackson announced before an enthusiastic crowd of 2,000 his determination to move from the "Why Not?" to the "How To?" "The voice of duty has whispered 'thou must,'" Jackson told his listeners.

Jackson proclaimed, in a speech that flowed with the religious cadences of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, that the black experience uniquely encompasses "the experience and perspective of the rejected. . . . Thus, our perspective encompasses and includes more of the American people and their interests than do most other experiences."

Campaign Strategy

Although Jackson's call for a "rainbow coalition" of blacks, Hispanics, women, and others has become a hallmark of his campaign, his political base is still the black community; consequently, he will probably target a half-dozen or so Deep South states, Illinois, New York, and the District of Columbia—areas with sizeable black populations and, thus, greater likelihood of electing Jackson delegates.

Most estimates of the total number of delegates Jackson can win range between 100 and 400; political analysts generally agree that in order to fall within this span, he would have to carry at least half of the black vote. The *Chicago Sun-Times*, in a computer simulation of possible scenarios for the primaries, found that the largest block of black Jackson delegates would come from Illinois, because of that state's party rules, and three heavily black Congressional Districts on the South Side. But there is talk of Chicago Mayor Harold Washington running as a favorite son candidate there, so the situation is somewhat complex.

Registration, Representation, and Reagan

Jackson has preferred to emphasize aspects of the campaign other than the acquisition of delegates. A key issue for Jackson is black voting rights in the South. He intends to push the Democratic party, both nationally and in individual southern states, to eliminate run-off primaries, at-large elections, racial gerrymandering, annexation, and inconvenient registration requirements.

Jackson also hopes to encourage more black candidates to run for office in the coming year, confident that an increased registration and turnout of black voters will improve these candidates' chances for nomination and election. "I plan to have the longest and widest coattails of any candidate in this race," he declared.

In a concluding outline of his vision for the nation, Jackson erected the battle lines between himself and Ronald Reagan. His opening salvo: "For nearly four years, our nation has had to endure the

substitution of showmanship and acting for statesmanship and positive leadership." What followed was a pledge to contest the president's policies on several domestic and international issues from economic initiatives to diplomatic and military undertakings.

How Will Jesse Run?

The question on everyone's mind now is, how will Jackson translate his powerful appeal into powerful action on the part of voters? To date, only the outlines of his campaign structure are clear.

Arnold Pinkney, a partner in a Cleveland insurance agency, has been named the campaign's national director. A former president of the Cleveland school board, Pinkney served as a deputy director of Hubert Humphrey's 1972 campaign, and has also organized in Ohio for Jimmy Carter, Governor Richard Celeste, and Congressman Louis Stokes (D, East Cleveland).

The co-chairmen of the Jackson Finance Committee will be George E. Johnson, chairman of Johnson Products, Inc., and Percy Sutton, former Manhattan borough president and currently the chairman of Inner City Broadcasting Company. Samuel Foggie, chairman of the board of the black-owned United National Bank of Washington (D.C.), is serving as campaign treasurer.

(The Joint Center is currently preparing an in-depth, updated analysis of the electoral situation Jesse Jackson will face in the primaries. The paper will be available by the end of the year.)

In the Reverend's Own Words

"This day we gather strangely exuberant and hopeful amidst so much chaos, confusion, despair, and pain. We sense that we are part of a special moment in history, pregnant with possibility. We courageously press forward for we dare not abort this moment. We are destined to redirect the course of this nation and we shall. We have been hoping against hope, on this journey from slavery to championship, that the stars in their courses have directed us to this station today. We are here to heed the call of this nation's highest and noblest principles that we might fulfill our mission to defend the poor, make welcome the outcast, deliver the needy, and be the source of hope for people yearning to be free everywhere."

"This candidacy is not for blacks only. This is a national campaign growing out of the black experience and seen through the eyes of a black perspective—which is the experience and perspective of the rejected. Because of this experience, I can empathize with the plight of Appalachia because I have known poverty. I know the pain of anti-Semitism because I have felt the humiliation of discrimination. I know firsthand the shame of bread lines and the horror of hopelessness and despair because my life has been dedicated to empowering the world's rejected to become respected. Thus, our perspective encompasses and includes more of the American people and their interests than do most other experiences."

Shelving Immigration Reform

by Milton D. Morris

(Dr. Morris is director of research at the Joint Center. His major study of immigration issues will be published by the Brookings Institution next year.)

On October 4, 1983, House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill announced that the Immigration Reform and Control Act (the Simpson-Mazzoli bill) would not be considered by the House this year, bringing to an abrupt end several years of Congressional effort to enact immigration reform. The bill had been approved overwhelmingly (80-19) by the Senate in August 1982; the House debated its version of this bill during the last days of the 97th Congress but set it aside owing to a lack of time to resolve major complications. In May 1983, a majority of the Senate (76-18) again passed and sent to the House another—identical—immigration reform bill. An extensively revised version of this second bill was the one shelved by the Speaker.

An Unsurprising Decision

For those familiar with the complexities of immigration politics, the bill's failure is not entirely surprising. Immigration policy has always been excruciatingly difficult to enact. The country has been deeply ambivalent about immigration—proud of its tradition of receptivity to immigrants and committed to the right of individuals to migrate, yet fearful of immigration's potential ill effects. Furthermore, many of the measures used or proposed for controlling immigration appear to threaten jealously guarded civil rights and liberties of both the aliens involved and some segments of the domestic population. And a complex array of often conflicting domestic and foreign policy interests are bound up with the immigration issue.

All of these forces were evident in the attempt to enact the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, whose primary purpose was to solve the widely acknowledged problem of illegal immigration. The Senate version imposed a new, more inclusive ceiling of 425,000 on annual immigration; sought to improve the process by which petitions and disputes, especially asylum and refugee claims, are adjudicated; and adopted two measures to deal with illegal immigration—an amnesty provision, under which all illegal immigrants in the country prior to January 1980 would be granted legal status, and an employer sanction provision, under which employers who knowingly hire illegal immigrants would be subject to modest fines.

The House Judiciary Committee discarded the idea of a revised ceiling and concentrated instead on the provisions dealing with illegal immigration and reform of the adjudicative process, which, its opponents argue, does not now permit judicial review of adverse decisions. The employer sanction provisions, always the most controversial element in proposals to curtail illegal immigration, quickly became the sticking point in committee deliberations on the House side. Although many people consider such sanctions essential in any effort to curb illegal immigration, there are at least three

sources of vigorous opposition to them: agricultural interests in the Southwest, which have relied for decades on illegal immigrants as seasonal workers; Latino organizations, which fear that such a provision would result in greatly increased discrimination against Latinos in the labor market; and several civil liberties and civil rights organizations, which also fear greater discrimination in the labor market. Moreover, many people outside these three alliances oppose the creation of a worker identification card, widely considered indispensable to an effective employer sanctions program.

Months of deliberation by several House committees—Judiciary; Agriculture, Education, and Labor; Energy and Commerce; and Ways and Means—failed to resolve the deep disagreements over these issues. When Speaker O'Neill refused to allow consideration of the bill, he was both acknowledging this impasse and avoiding the political cost of enacting so controversial a law on the eve of a presidential election.

Disappointed Supporters

Despite the Speaker's assertion that the immigration reform bill lacked a constituency, it clearly enjoyed wide public support. Scores of newspapers across the country had urged its adoption, and numerous public opinion polls indicated a popular desire for firm action to reduce illegal immigration. Not surprisingly, therefore, O'Neill's action has been roundly criticized by the press and by those in Congress who worked for adoption of the bill.

Journalist Carl Rowan described the action as "a blunder that could cost the Democrats far more votes than can ever be delivered by the Hispanic politicians O'Neill was trying to placate." And Representative Romano L. Mazzoli (D-Ky), who sponsored the bill in the House, complained that "the speaker's abrupt, unnecessary, thoroughly unfounded action deprives the Congress and the country of the right to deal with an issue that has plagued us for 30 years."

Both Congress's failure to enact immigration reform and the manner in which Speaker O'Neill scuttled the attempt are regrettable; the country would have been better served had the bill been brought to the House floor for consideration—even if it failed to win approval. The Speaker's assertions that he feared a politically motivated presidential veto and that any future bill should have the approval of the Hispanic Congressional Caucus are unpersuasive and disturbing. Unpersuasive because there is no evidence to suggest that the political benefits accruing to the president from a veto (were it exercised) would have exceeded gains to the Democrats for having supported the bill; disturbing because investing the Hispanic Caucus with virtual veto power over future immigration reform is imprudent and an unfair burden to impose on any single group in Congress.

The Future of Reform

The Speaker's apparent bad judgment notwithstanding, some important questions arise from his

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* Conference Report
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Foreign Trade Policy and Unemployment

by Kevin D. Armstrong

(The author is staff writer at the Joint Center for Political Studies.)

On November 3, the House of Representatives passed, by a vote of 219 to 199, so-called domestic content legislation. The controversial bill would require foreign automobile manufacturers who sell more than 100,000 cars a year in this country to use specific percentages of American parts and labor. The bill now moves to the Senate, where it is likely to be taken up early in 1984. It will face a tougher battle there, and even if it is passed, President Reagan, who has actively opposed such legislation, will probably veto it.

The bill is one of the first congressional actions in what will be a hotly contested political battle in 1984. Organized labor has succeeded in making a central issue of U.S. trade and its impact on American workers. In this article, we will explore some of the basic arguments behind the rhetoric, with special attention to their significance for blacks and other minorities.

Representation of women and minorities in U.S. industries most harmed by foreign trade, 1980.

Industry*	Women	Minorities
Apparel	80%	12%
Motor vehicles	13%	14%
Furnaces, Steel products	7%	14%
Nonrubber footwear	62%	4%
Motorcycles, Bicycles	19%	8%
Radio, TV sets	40%	8%
Broadwoven fabric mills	42%	13%
Rubber footwear	25%	10%
Petroleum refining	15%	7%
Furniture, Fixtures	27%	11%

*Industries are listed in order of business lost to imports.

Source: Data from Department of Labor

Representation of women and minorities in U.S. industries most helped by foreign trade, 1980.

Industry*	Women	Minorities
Machine shop products	16%	5%
Refrigeration machinery	16%	5%
Fabricated plate work	12%	7%
Veneer and plywood	10%	16%
Semiconductors	41%	7%
Electronic components	41%	7%
Wiring devices	41%	7%
Motors, Generators	22%	5%
Pumps and compressors	16%	5%
Special industrial machinery	14%	7%

*Industries are listed in order of business gained from export trade.

Source: Data from Department of Labor

Changing Nature of U.S. Trade

Since the early 1950s, rising global prosperity and the easing of trade restrictions have led to increased U.S. trade with both industrialized and less developed nations. These trends have altered America's economy markedly, making it considerably more dependent on world commerce: the value of imports and exports as a percentage of the gross national product bounded from 7.3 percent in 1965 to 18.4 percent in 1980.

The expansion of international trade has undoubtedly yielded increased job opportunities in American industries dependent upon exports—semiconductors, aircraft engines, and construction machinery, to name a few. But some basic U.S. industries for various reasons—ranging from the relative strength of the dollar to problems in the industries themselves—have been unsuccessful in competing with foreign imports: industries such as autos, steel, and machine tools have been severely damaged by foreign competition. (The enormous deficits in America's balance of trade over the last few years—\$36.4 billion in 1982—attest to the extent of the damage.) These industries have had to reduce their work forces through temporary or permanent layoffs and plant closings. A disproportionately high number of the affected workers are black.

Trade and Minority Unemployment

According to a study prepared for the Joint Center by Dr. Jane-yu Li (an economist now at the World Bank), the U.S. Department of Labor has identified the 20 sectors hurt most by recent shifts in trading patterns and the 20 sectors that have enjoyed the greatest expansion as a result of the same shifts. The sectors most harmed by foreign competition employ relatively more minorities: in 1980, the weighted average percentage of minority workers was 11.5 for the sectors adversely affected by trade and 7.4 for the sectors that benefit from trade. The statistics for women are similar: 41.1 percent of workers in the former sector but only 21.5 percent of those in the latter were women.

What's more, the burden on minority and women workers may be much larger than these figures suggest. For example, the Department of Labor has estimated that black workers make up 14 percent of the work force in the automobile industry but 33 percent of laid-off auto workers—more than double the rate for whites.

Minorities and women, therefore, are most likely to experience—and least able to afford—the job disruption brought on by increased competition.

Competition or Protection?

Some within organized labor have called for government assistance to counter industrial decline. A position paper adopted by the Fifteenth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, which met last month in Hollywood, Florida, advocates emergency relief measures that "could include loans and loan guarantees, direct subsidies, targeted tax measures,

(Continued on page 6)

... Immigration Reform

(Continued from page 4)

action: Did the country lose very much in the failure of Simpson-Mazzoli, and if so what? Where do we go from here with immigration reform?

The failure to enact Simpson-Mazzoli now means that no similar legislation is likely before 1985, since Congress will be even more reluctant to deal with the issue in 1984—a presidential election year. This delay means that the problem of illegal immigration will persist and perhaps worsen after this new evidence of the government's inability to act. Millions of people who would have been granted legal status by Simpson-Mazzoli will continue to lead a clandestine existence, and the inequitable way immigration petitions are now adjudicated will remain unchanged.

Nevertheless, the failed bill was far from adequate; it would have delivered considerably less than most press comments about it imply. Even its sponsors conceded that it had serious weaknesses and should be viewed as only a modest first step in immigration reform. The principal problem was that both House and Senate versions of the bill failed to offer a credible means of curtailing illegal immigration. The proposed employer sanctions seemed too weak to be effective especially in the absence of a reliable worker identification system or a plan to expand the responsible enforcement agencies to enforce the new provision.

The failure of Simpson-Mazzoli demonstrates the extreme difficulty of achieving major immigration reform. If the current problems worsen considerably, however, Congress may be driven to harsh and imprudent measures. But there are alternatives.

Congress might now turn its attention to passage of pending refugee legislation that could include some of the modifications in the adjudication process painstakingly worked out as part of Simpson-Mazzoli. Next, it could provide direction and funding to drastically reorganize and strengthen the immigration bureaucracy to improve services and enforcement. Congress might also review its foreign economic assistance programs to determine how they might help improve the economic conditions that contribute to the increasing emigration pressures in nearby developing countries. These measures would help to reduce illegal immigration significantly and would improve the effectiveness of future immigration reform legislation.

... Foreign Trade

(Continued from page 5)

and trade relief . . ." And the United Auto Workers union vigorously supports the domestic content legislation.

The unions and their supporters maintain that such measures would create jobs for Americans and

"send a message" to other countries to open their markets to more American goods.

The government response has been moderate so far. Laws were enacted in 1974 and 1978 to provide some assistance to domestic industries, and the U.S. signed the internationally negotiated General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which allows for the imposition of an off-setting duty when imports are being sold at "less than normal value." "Normal value" is defined as the price at which a product is sold in its domestic market or—for products manufactured solely for export—the price at which the product is sold to a third country; in cases where third country comparisons cannot be made, the normal value is defined as an item's cost of production.

Besides these antidumping duties, the most commonly used import relief measure is the negotiation of "voluntary" export restraint agreements with other nations. Some such agreements have been struck between the United States and such newly industrialized countries as Japan, Taiwan, and Korea, yet they have failed to halt the slippage of America's heavy industries. More extensive remedies, therefore, continue to be advocated.

Opponents of these remedies argue that if international trade is restricted, a trade war may ensue, depriving all nations of the gains made possible by the comparative advantages of each trading partner. Among the results, they say, lower-income families in the United States would no longer benefit from lower-priced imported necessities such as clothing, shoes, consumer electronics, and cars, and minority families would suffer more than whites because of their lower incomes.

A worse consequence cited frequently by farmers' groups and other export-oriented industries is the likelihood that foreign countries would retaliate by restricting U.S. imports. Firms producing goods for export would then lose business, and although there are relatively few minority workers in these firms, these few would probably suffer job losses in the same disproportionate way that is occurring now throughout heavy industry.

Protectionist measures cannot save many jobs in heavy industry either, according to the advocates of unrestricted trade: competing domestic producers will simply increase the level of automation to cut their costs. As an example, they point to the automobile industry, which bought itself time to re-tool by persuading the government to negotiate a voluntary export restraint agreement with Japan. Increased automation means that jobs in the industry will probably never reach prerecession levels.

The debate over the proper U.S. response to increased competition from abroad is seen by many as a debate over the future of their livelihood. Those in the auto industry, for instance, fear the loss of sales and jobs if imports are allowed to continue unabated, while farmers fear that limitations on imported cars will lead to foreign restrictions on American agricultural exports. The struggle among these competing interests is perhaps the natural result of a changing world economic order, but it promises to be a protracted and potentially bitter confrontation.

Telescope

South Carolina Elects First Black State Senator Since Reconstruction

Reverend I. DeQuincey Newman was elected South Carolina's first black state senator since 1888, in a special election held in October. Newman, a Democrat, is a businessman and former NAACP field director for South Carolina. He defeated white Republican John Camp for the seat, which represents Richland, Fairfield, and Chester counties. It was previously held by Alex Sanders, now a chief judge of the state Court of Appeals.

AT&T Reorganization and Blacks

A CBS News/*New York Times* poll taken in late September found that 69 percent of black respondents say they could not afford a telephone if rates double. Many people have predicted just such an increase in rates as a result of the court-ordered reorganization of the telephone system scheduled to take place in January 1984. Fifty percent of the elderly and 72 percent of respondents with incomes under \$10,000 also said they might have to give up their phones if rates double. The reorganization plan is drawing increasing scrutiny from Congress and from state legislators.

Joint Center Board Appoints Three New Members

The Joint Center's board of governors has three new members: Bishop John Hurst Adams, Marian Wright Edelman, and Luther Hilton Foster.

Bishop Adams has served as the bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church since 1972. He is chairman of the Congress of National Black Churches and director of the Interdenominational Theological Center. Bishop Adams received his master's degree from the Boston University School of Theology.

Marian Wright Edelman has been president of the Children's Defense Fund since 1975. She is a trustee and chairman of the board of Spelman College. Ms. Edelman received her law degree from Yale University and has served as an attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., and as director of the Harvard University Center for Law and Education.

Luther Hilton Foster is chairman of the board of the Moton Memorial Institute in Washington, D.C. He holds several honorary degrees and is president emeritus of Tuskegee Institute.

Senate Passes King Holiday Bill

On October 19, 1983, the Senate voted 78 to 22 to make Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday the nation's tenth federal holiday. Its passage followed two days of intense and often bitter debate. Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) was the main opponent of the legislation. The House passed the bill in August, and President Reagan signed it on November 2.

Legislation to create a national holiday in memory of Dr. King has been before the U.S. Congress for 15 years. Congressman John Conyers (D-MI) of the Congressional Black Caucus introduced the first bill in April 1968, four days after Dr. King's assassination in Memphis; other bills have been in-

troduced every year since then. The closest a bill had come to passage was in 1979, when the bill fell four votes short of passage in the House.

The holiday will be observed on the third Monday in January, starting in 1986.

The Gender Gap, Continued

The widely noted "gender gap" in support for Ronald Reagan is found even among blacks, who give the president the lowest approval ratings of any group. Sixteen percent of black men but only 6 percent of women approve of President Reagan's job performance, according to the Gallup survey.

Women overall have given President Reagan lower job approval ratings in all the national Gallup surveys since he took office in 1980. The recent boost in the president's approval ratings following the invasion of Granada and the attack in Lebanon came entirely from men, according to the ABC News/*Washington Post* poll. Reagan is no more popular with women now than he was before the actions—49 percent of women approve of his job performance, compared to 67 percent of men.

Among the Democratic candidates for presidential nominees, the only one with a gender gap is Senator John Glenn. The Garth Analysis found that 34 percent of men and 27 percent of women support Glenn. But 23 percent of women are undecided, as compared to 10 percent of men.

Two New JCPS Publications

Wealth and Economic Status: A Perspective on Racial Inequity, by William P. O'Hare, uses information on wealth (accumulated assets) to compare the economic status of blacks and whites. The more commonly used income measure suggests that blacks as a group have reached 60 percent of parity with whites, but blacks have only one-third as much wealth as whites. O'Hare, senior research associate at the Joint Center, examines differences in wealth accumulation between blacks and whites for a range of assets, from income and property to savings and investments. *Wealth and Economic Status* also looks at changes in black and white wealth accumulation between 1967 and 1979.

Race and Political Strategy, edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, research associate at the Joint Center, is based on proceedings of a JCPS roundtable discussion on the impact of race in electoral contests between black and white candidates. Roundtable participants included black candidates who ran in the 1982 elections and their assistants, political consultants, pollsters, and academic researchers. Their discussions centered on three issues that confront black candidates: strategic choices, use of campaign technologies, and grass-roots organizing.

Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta says in his introduction to *Race and Political Strategy*, "Any black man or woman involved in politics should draw a measure of moral support as well as practical insight from this book. . . . Everyone interested in the political process will enjoy the give-and-take."

Copies of both publications are available for \$4.95 each, prepaid, from the Joint Center.

Black elected officials from all levels of government and all parts of the country will meet in Washington, D.C., from February 29 to March 3, 1984, for the *Fourth National Policy Institute*. The institute's sponsors—the seven national organizations of black elected officials and the Joint Center for Political Studies—issued a call to the meeting on November 9.

The political climate of the last few years and the forthcoming presidential campaign give this meeting special significance. It will provide an opportunity for the 5,400 black elected officials in the nation to establish a strong network, share ideas on policy and strategies for governance, and demonstrate to the rest of the country their substantial political presence.

The institute will include seminars on public policy and the political process, caucuses by level of office, and plenary sessions at which resolutions may be proposed, discussed, and adopted. Though the institute is nonpartisan and will not endorse any candidates, it can be expected to have a strong impact on the larger political arena.

Seminars will feature elected officials with expertise on specific subjects, political scientists and commentators, federal officials, and other knowledgeable professionals. They will examine how public policies affect governments at the national, state, and local levels, with particular attention to the interests of blacks and to the actions elected

FOURTH NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE



Sponsored by:

Congressional Black Caucus
Joint Center for Political Studies
Judicial Council of the National Bar Association
National Association of Black County Officials
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
National Black Caucus of State Legislators
National Caucus of Black School Board Members
National Conference of Black Mayors

officials can take to address the concerns of their constituents. On the issue of employment, for example, local problems will be examined in the context of large-scale economic and social trends, and possible remedies will be weighed. Among other issues to be discussed are U.S. trade, the environment, education, and the black family.

Another set of seminars will focus on ways to increase and improve minority political participation, including voter mobilization, campaign strategies, and enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. Workshops will provide concrete information on federal and state initiatives in resource development and on resources available in the private sector. Representatives of federal and state agencies will discuss programs in housing, transportation, social service delivery,

and community and economic development. Special attention will be given to strategic planning for local governments. Other highlights of the institute include a caucus for women officials, a reception hosted by Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry, and the JCPS Seventh Annual Dinner, whose theme will be "A Salute to Black Elected Officials."

The registration fee is \$90 for black elected officials and \$200 for observers. The fee covers all events except the JCPS dinner. For further information, please call 202 626-3534, or write Fourth National Policy Institute, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004.

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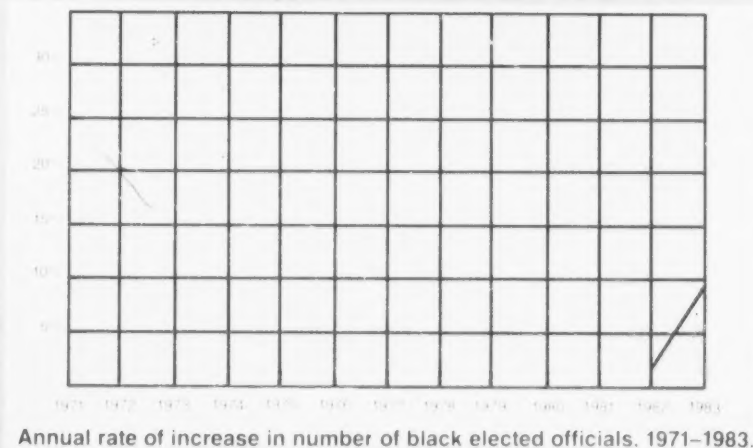
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Number of Black Elected Officials Jumps 8.6 Percent

The largest increase since 1976 is a sign of the recent surge in black political activism.

Martin Luther King, Jr.: An Honorable Man

Opponents of the King holiday raised doubts that should have been put to rest long ago; here, a noted King scholar sets the record straight.

The Civil Rights Commission "Double Cross"

For the first time, a U.S. president attempted to alter the composition of the commission; then, after a compromise resolution was reached, the administration reneged.

Plus—

- A Special Report on Blacks in the Military
- Officer Attrition Rates
- Black Fliers

Perspective

In a few weeks, the nation's black elected officials will assemble in Washington to develop their agenda for the 1984 elections and to map political strategies to implement as much of that agenda as possible.

Their National Policy Institute is both timely and necessary. By convening February 29-March 3, the institute has an opportunity to inject black perspectives into the primaries and into the elections that follow. The institute is necessary because, as four recent New York Times/CBS News polls found, black Americans are less optimistic about the future than whites, and the nation's policymakers need to know why this is so. Black elected officials, whose numbers are on a dramatic increase again (see page 8), can make a powerful statement on this subject.

The institute is timely and necessary for yet another reason. During the past decade, and especially since 1982, black Americans have demonstrated a strong and growing commitment to use the political process to achieve further progress in race relations. Black elected officials must provide leadership for this new thrust of the civil rights movement.

All of these are goals that the institute sponsors had in mind when they called for a national conference in early 1984. The sponsors represent all 5,600 black elected officials:

- Congressional Black Caucus
- Judicial Council of the National Bar Association
- National Association of Black County Officials
- National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
- National Black Caucus of State Legislators
- National Caucus of Black School Board Members
- National Conference of Black Mayors

I am pleased that the Joint Center, which was conceived at a similar meeting in 1969, is also a sponsor of the institute and is serving as its convener.

Through workshops and plenaries, the institute will tackle some of the most pressing problems con-

fronting black America and indeed the nation as a whole. For example:

- Black unemployment rates have been twice those of whites for several decades, and only in the last six months has the rate for blacks begun to fall—long after the unemployment rate for whites commenced its decline.
- Virtually half of black families are headed by single women, and 57.4 percent of black female headed households are in poverty.
- The poor quality of public education available to most black children reduces opportunity. Blacks are disproportionately represented among the 72 million Americans who are functionally illiterate.

A *Policy Framework for Racial Justice*, which the Joint Center published last year, identifies the economy, the black family, and education as three fundamental problem areas that must be addressed in order to usher the disproportionately large number of excluded blacks into the mainstream of American society. The institute will explore new policy approaches to these knotty—but not insoluble—problems, and others.

The institute enjoys the enthusiastic support of prominent blacks from business, labor, academic, and civil rights circles, many of whom have agreed to serve on its Advisory Committee, which Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and Percy Sutton, chairman of Inner City Broadcasting, will co-chair.

Occurring as it does on the eve of the 1984 primary season, the Fourth National Policy Institute offers an excellent opportunity for black officials to articulate their concerns and draw attention to the distressing trends I mentioned above. Although the institute will be nonpartisan and will make no endorsements, I do expect it to influence the agendas of both political parties and many candidates. Participants will surely voice their constituents' concerns as well as their own, and the views and votes of the black electorate are or should be matters of considerable interest to all office-seekers in 1984.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Martin Luther King, Jr.: An Honorable Man

by David J. Garrow

(In 1986, America will begin to honor Martin Luther King, Jr.—and the ideals he stood for—with a national holiday. In 1984, an appropriate way to recognize his birthday is to set the record straight, once and for all, on the charges and innuendoes that continue to be made by opponents of the holiday. These charges have been proven false and should not be allowed to detract from the celebration of King's contributions.)

Dr. Garrow is the author of The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr. (W. W. Norton, 1981) and Protest at Selma (Yale U. Press, 1978). He is assistant professor of political science at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.)

Establishment of a federal holiday to honor Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. occasioned a fresh public debate over stale accusations first made by segregationists more than two decades ago. Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) unsuccessfully tried to block Senate passage of the holiday bill by alleging that Communist influence had underlain King's civil rights efforts, that King's personal conduct made him undeserving of national honor, and that King's political beliefs had been so radical as to be subversively un-American. Widely syndicated columnists such as James J. Kilpatrick dredged up similar claims, and even President Reagan flippantly suggested that the full truth about King's real tenets was not yet known.

Ultimately, the Senate voted 78 to 22 in favor of the holiday, and the president signed the measure into law. But the charges against King have been left clouding the air, and they deserve to be clearly refuted for the record. Senator Helms's remarks and Kilpatrick's assertions each were replete with errors, and even President Reagan's public comment betrayed ignorance of the relevant facts.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation had conducted an extensive investigation of King between 1962 and 1968, which focused on the same matters that Helms highlighted. The tapes and other records from the FBI's investigation were sealed for 50 years in 1977, to protect Dr. King and his family from further invasion of privacy. Helms argued that all these materials—principally tape recordings obtained from hidden "bugs" in King's hotel rooms—would have to be placed on the open record before any proper evaluation of King could take place. He unsuccessfully sought to persuade a federal judge to order the release of such tapes and transcripts. Helms's undertaking was both disingenuous and blind to evidence that disproves his basic accusations.

Communist Ties?

Helms's foremost allegation was that King "kept around him as his principal advisers and associates certain individuals who were taking their orders and direction from a foreign power," namely the Soviet Union. Helms also suggested that "King may have had an explicit but clandestine relationship with the Communist party or its agents to promote through his own stature, not the civil rights of blacks or social justice and progress, but the totalitarian goals

and ideology of communism." Columnist Kilpatrick sounded a similar note, asserting that many of King's "close associates" were Communists and that King himself had been affiliated with the "notorious Highlander Folk School, a Communist training center."

Some of these statements are blatantly false. Several of the people whom Kilpatrick labeled as "close associates" were only passing acquaintances of King's, and at least one—a man named Paul Crouch—King never met. The extent of King's association with the Highlander School was to deliver a speech there once, and the school was never a "Communist training center," a conclusion even the FBI voiced privately when segregationists such as George Wallace and Ross Barnett trumpeted the charge back in 1963.

Helms focused on two figures who were, in fact, associates of Dr. King, one-time Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) employee Jack O'Dell and Stanley Levison, a white New York attorney who served as one of King's most important political advisers for more than a decade without ever emerging as a public figure.

O'Dell's past ties to the Communist party had been the subject of FBI-planted news stories in 1962 and 1963, but his SCLC job never made him one of King's "principal advisers and associates." Levison was one of King's top confidants and also, as the FBI knew, had been involved in the most important financial affairs of the American Communist party in the early 1950s—well before his acquaintance with King. The FBI had lost interest in Levison by 1955, when his Communist party activity ended, but in 1962, the bureau became aware that Levison had now become a close friend of the famous young civil rights leader. Although the bureau had no evidence that Levison was speaking for anyone but himself in his relationship with King, it concluded that the presence of such a man in King's entourage was a serious "national security" problem. As former assistant FBI director Charles D. Brennan, who was intimately involved in the King probe, put it in a recent issue of *Conservative Digest*, the FBI operated "on the assumption that Soviet direction must have been behind Levison's move from the Communist party to Martin Luther King."

Their fears aroused, the FBI asked Attorney General Robert Kennedy for permission to wiretap Levison's home and office, which Kennedy granted. Although those wiretaps remained in place for more than seven years—even after Dr. King's assassination—the FBI never found any evidence to support its assumption that Levison was representing foreign interests in his relationship with King or influencing King in subversive ways.

Extensive proof of this fact is publicly available. First, all of the FBI's accounts of Levison's wiretapped phone conversations, which included hundreds between him and King, have been released by the bureau in response to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. Therefore, although the tapes from the FBI's electronic surveillance of King himself are sealed, the material most relevant to any supposed "Communist influence" upon King—

(Continued on page 5)

The Civil Rights Commission Double Cross

by Muriel Morisey Spence

(The author is national legislative counsel at the American Civil Liberties Union, Washington office.)

On December 8, 1983, representatives from major civil rights organizations—including women's rights advocates, predominately black organizations, and Hispanics—held a press conference to denounce the White House and Senate Republicans for "double-crossing" them. The subject was a compromise agreement to preserve the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights—a compromise that had been worked out over weeks of strenuous negotiations among Senate leaders, the White House, and civil rights groups. Then, after the legislation had been signed at the eleventh hour and it was too late to do anything about it, the administration violated the nonlegislative understandings that had been part of the agreement.

The 26-year-old Civil Rights Commission has played a key role in federal civil rights policy. Although it has no enforcement or regulatory duties, its status as an independent and objective fact-finding and policy evaluation agency gives it special credibility. Over the years, many of its recommendations have become permanent civil rights laws or have been incorporated into the operating regulations of civil rights agencies. But in recent months, the commission has been close to extinction and its independence put in grave jeopardy.

The Historic Role of the Commission

The Civil Rights Commission was established by Congress in the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to research, analyze, and report on the state of civil rights in the United States. No other federal agency serves such an investigatory function in the area of civil rights. The commission has published over 700 reports, which have played major roles in the evaluation and formulation of federal civil rights policy. Throughout its history, it has been forthright in criticizing civil rights enforcement practices and policies that it found lacking. Nevertheless, Republican and Democratic presidents alike have sought to preserve the unique integrity and independence of the commission.

The relationship between the commission and the administration, Congress, and the civil rights community continued in relative harmony for 26 years, until President Reagan decided to dismiss commission members who have been vocal in their criticism of administration policies. In November 1981, the White House notified then Chairman Arthur S. Flemming and Vice Chairman Stephen Horn that they would be replaced. The president nominated Clarence N. Pendleton, a black Republican who had been head of the San Diego Urban League, as chairman and Mary Louise Smith, former chairwoman of the Republican National Committee, as a member of the commission. The Senate confirmed both nominees in March 1982.

In February 1982, the White House announced its intention to nominate the Reverend B. Sam Hart of Philadelphia, a black Republican—reportedly to replace Commissioner Jill Ruckelshaus, a white Republican appointed by President Jimmy Carter. Pro-

tests over Hart's lack of appropriate credentials grew so persistent and widespread that he withdrew his name before ever being formally nominated. Then the administration sent up three more names: Robert Destro, Nicholas Dombalis, and Guadalupe Quintinilla, to replace Commissioners Mary Frances Berry, Blandina Cardenas Ramirez, and Murray Saltzman. Although the nominations received Senate Judiciary Committee approval, the full Senate did not act on the names before the end of the 97th Congress.

In May 1983, the White House renewed its efforts to replace Commissioners Berry, Ramirez, and Saltzman. Destro, a law professor, was renominated, and the White House offered two new names instead of Dombalis and Quintinilla—Morris Abram, a well-known lawyer and former president of Brandeis University, and John Bunzel, of Stanford University's Hoover Institute. White House officials expressed their hope that these new appointees would give the commission a more conservative cast in line with President Reagan's views—especially on the issues of affirmative action and busing as remedies for discrimination in employment and education. The administration did not state any reasons for dissatisfaction with the commissioners to be replaced, but the three had been consistently critical of the administration's policies and enforcement activities in these areas.

The president's actions marked an unprecedented attempt to ensure that a majority of the commission supports his administration's civil rights policies. Even though the law creating the commission had never spelled out specific terms for commissioners or stated the conditions for their replacement, every president had understood and honored the congressional intention to let the commissioners work without fear of politically motivated retaliation for their views and actions. In the only previous presidential effort to alter the commission, the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, second chairman of the commission, was notified in 1973 that President Nixon planned to name a new chairman. However, no attempt was made to remove Hesburgh from the commission. Hesburgh later resigned for personal reasons.

Congress criticized President Reagan's actions. During Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on the nominees in July, Senator Joseph R. Biden (D-DE), who is an *opponent* of school busing and affirmative action goals and timetables, said "This debate is not about busing, not about quotas. That is a smoke-screen. The administration knows if we ever focus on its civil rights policy, then white America will find its policies abysmal."

Senators Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R-MD) and Arlen Specter (R-PA), members of the Judiciary Committee, urged that the nominations be withdrawn, because the circumstances under which they had occurred tainted the independence and integrity of the commission. Representatives of more than 20 civil rights groups testified that if the nominations were not withdrawn, they should be opposed as a group. The civil rights advocates withheld comment on the individual qualifications of the nomi-

(Continued on page 6)

Black Officers: A Special Report

Officer Attrition

by Edwin Dorn

(Dr. Dorn is deputy director of research at the Joint Center and is in charge of the center's clearinghouse on blacks in the military.)

Two factors affect the racial composition of the military's officer corps: the ratio of blacks to non-blacks entering the service as officers, and the ratio of blacks to non-blacks leaving the service. A review of statistical trends for the period from 1972 to 1982 reveals that the officer corps began attracting more blacks during the early part of that period. This growth has slowed in the past three or four years, suggesting that the services may have difficulty increasing black officer representation much beyond the current level of 5.6 percent.

The dotted line in Figure 1 indicates that the representation of blacks in the lowest officer grade, O1, was less than 2 percent in 1972, peaked at 7.5 percent in 1979, then declined to 6.6 percent in 1982. The solid line shows that the representation of blacks in all officer grades also rose, but more slowly. This slower rise for all officers is attributable to the military's rigid promotion system; the trend for all officers normally traces that for O1s, but with a lag of several years

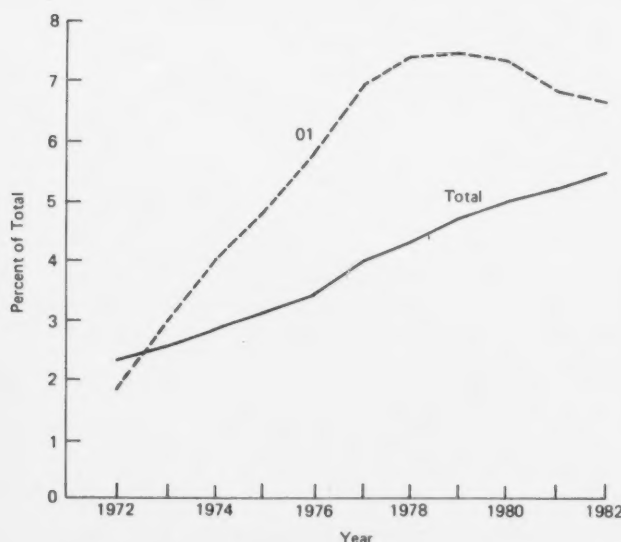


Figure 1: Blacks as a percentage of all officers and officers in the O1 grade, 1972-1982.

Source: Department of Defense.

time. For example, it takes about ten years to climb through the ranks from O1 (second lieutenant) to O4 (major) so increases in the number of black majors will not be apparent for a few years.

Those who are selected for promotion will come from the O1s represented by the dotted line in Figure 2. Thus, the attrition rate among these junior officers is a key indicator of the future representation of blacks in the higher officer grades.

Attrition rates have declined dramatically during the past decade for black and non-black officers, and the combined attrition rate for blacks in all grades, from lieutenant to colonel has been lower than that for non-black officers. It would appear, then, that the services have been moving in the right direction.

A Worrisome Trend

One trend, however, should give us cause for concern: the dip in the percentage of blacks in the O1 grade since 1979. We can examine this trend more closely by considering the

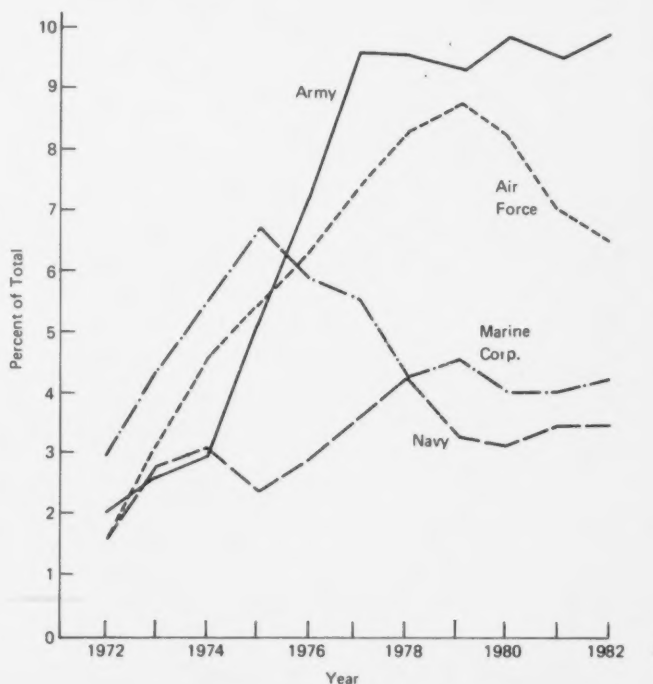


Figure 2: Blacks as a percentage of officers in the O1 grade, by service, 1972-1982.

Source: Department of Defense.

various services' recruiting efforts independently. Figure 2 tracks the representation of black O1s within each of the four services.

Clearly, the Army achieved the most dramatic recruiting gains: blacks have been approximately 10 percent of officers in the entering grade since around 1977. The Air Force made steady gains in the early through mid-1970s, but a decline in the percentage of blacks in the O1 grade began in 1979. Black officer representation in the Navy and Marine Corps has improved, but in an uneven and undramatic way.

Generally, recruitment gains can be traced to two factors. One is an increase in the recruitment pool. Officers must be college graduates, and during the 1970s, black representation among college graduates increased considerably. Indeed, the representation of blacks in the officer corps is roughly equal to the representation of blacks in the college-educated population, a factor that could in itself constrain future increases in the black officer cadre. Another factor is that all the services launched vigorous efforts to recruit more black officers. Those efforts were stimulated partly by the services' commitment to equal opportunity, and partly by the need—especially in the immediate post-Vietnam period—to compensate for a reduced interest in military service among whites.

The differences among individual services are probably attributable to the nature of their recruitment efforts, to differences in the ways in which they are perceived by blacks, and to differences in standards. For example, the Army recruits most of its officers through college-based ROTC programs and gets about half of its black officers from historically black colleges. Further, the Army has long been perceived as relatively hospitable to blacks.

By contrast, the Navy relies very heavily on the U.S. Naval Academy to fill its officer ranks. Admission to the service academies is highly competitive, with strong emphasis on mathematical and scientific aptitude. Blacks, on average, score lower than whites on standardized achievement tests, and

blacks continue to be underrepresented among students majoring in mathematics, engineering, and the physical sciences. Thus, the pool of blacks who qualify for the Navy probably is smaller than the pool who qualify for the Army.

However, all of the services have now begun to require that their officers display greater scientific skills. This, combined with social and economic forces that have made the military more attractive to whites, may help to explain the recent decline in representation of blacks among officers entering the armed forces.

Attrition of O1s

Another cause for concern is that the attrition rate of black O1s has become higher than the attrition rate of white O1s (Figure 3). Here, too, the specifics vary from service to service (the difference appears most pronounced in the Air Force), but clearly the attrition rate contributes to the dip in the representation of blacks at the O1 level and results in relatively fewer blacks than non-blacks being available for promotion into the higher grades. (For the past three years, attrition rates have also been higher for blacks than whites at the O4 (major) level; this phenomenon is too recent to be judged an important trend, but it bears watching.)

To date, no systematic analyses have been conducted that would allow us to explain with confidence the factors underlying the attrition trends. However, interviews with informed observers within and outside the Defense Department have turned up a pair of plausible theories. One is that, in their eagerness to attract blacks into the officer corps, the services may have "dipped too deeply into the pool." That is, they may have altered educational achievement standards in order to enlist blacks who would not have qualified under other circumstances. These deficiencies could manifest themselves in unsatisfactory performance very early in the officers' careers.

A second explanation, and one that would gain increasing importance as officers moved up through the ranks, is that many black officers may have failed to master the subtleties of career advancement. Young black officers, who frequently are the first in their families to enter professional jobs, may master a narrow range of job skills but fail to display the proper combination of leadership, initiative, conformity, and career planning needed to advance into more senior and more responsible positions. This explanation would be consistent with analyses by economist Bernard Anderson and others of the experience of blacks in the corporate world. These more subtle bureaucratic skills, of course, are not taught as part of a regular college curriculum; they are gleaned through socialization in a middle-class professional environment. Furthermore, it may be that many black junior officers are not finding mentors among more experienced senior officers, whose assessments, advice, and concrete assistance can be crucial to long-term success.

Although both of these explanations are plausible, it must be re-emphasized that neither is proven. For example, even though blacks tend to display lower educational achievement than whites, it does not necessarily follow that those who are leaving the military are in fact the low achievers. It is possible that much of the black attrition is attributable to highly talented officers who find attractive alternatives in the civilian sector.

In recent months, several Pentagon officials have indicated concern about the issues discussed above, particularly attrition. However, with a few specific exceptions—for example, black attrition from flight training programs—the issues appear not to have been studied systematically. Until they are, it may be difficult for the services to effect dramatic improvements in the representation of blacks in the officer corps.

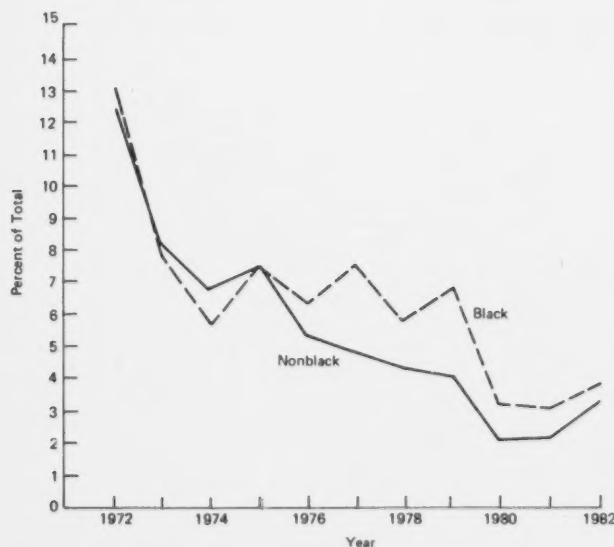


Figure 3: Attrition rates for black and nonblack officers in the O1 grade, 1972-1982.

Source: Department of Defense.

Black Fliers

by Wade S. Gatling

(Colonel Gatling is a senior fellow at the Joint Center, on a one-year assignment from the Air Force under an ongoing agreement between JCPS and the U.S. Defense Dept.)

The capture and dramatic release of Lieutenant Robert O. Goodman focused the country's attention on a black Navy flier. Interestingly, Lieutenant Goodman is one of only about 260 blacks among some 18,000 Navy fliers. Four decades after the military began training blacks as airmen, the percentage of black fliers in all the services remains low—even lower than the overall percentage of black officers.

Of all the military occupational specialties, flying is one of the most critical and prestigious. Without diminishing the importance of other combat assignments, one can say that there is something special about people who fly, particularly the officers who pilot and navigate modern, high performance jet fighters. They are men (women are prohibited from flying aircraft in combat) who must have near-perfect vision, the stamina to withstand physical stresses that would render most people unconscious, the intellectual skill to master highly complex machines, and the reflexes to make instantaneous decisions at speeds where a second's delay can mean death.

Not everyone who flies faces such exacting performance standards, of course. Many pilots fly other types of aircraft, such as bombers, tankers, cargo planes, and helicopters, in which they undertake demanding missions, but at slower speeds. And some people who fly—Air Force navigators and Naval flight officers, for example—have responsibilities other than piloting, such as navigation, bombing, and electronic counter-measures. Still, everyone involved in flying must meet certain rigorous physical and academic standards.

Thus it is not surprising that officers with flight experience are well represented among top military leaders. In the Air Force, 73 percent of the generals are pilots, even though only 25 percent of Air Force officers as a whole are pilots. In the Navy, where only 17 percent of the officers are trained as pilots, 31 percent of the admirals wear pilot's wings. And in the Marine Corps, 34 percent of the generals are pilots, compared to 22 percent of all Marine officers. Only in the Army, where flying must compete with the likes of Infantry, Armor, and Artillery, is the pattern absent.

Despite the allure of flying and its potential as a path to the highest ranks, there are very few blacks in military aviation. Currently, blacks constitute only 1.8 percent of military personnel with flying specialties, although 5.6 percent of all commissioned officers—the source of most flight trainees—are black. Table 1 shows the extent of black participation in aviation by service.

There are two fundamental reasons why blacks are under-represented in the flying corps. First, very few blacks enter flight training, as shown in Table 2. For the periods covered in the table, less than 3 percent of all student pilots were black. The comparable percentage for navigators and flight officers was only slightly above 3 percent. These statistics reveal nothing, of course, about the numbers of blacks who applied for flight training, but did not qualify, or who had an interest in flying, but did not apply.

The reasons so few blacks enter flight training are undoubtedly complex. No doubt a key factor influencing occupational preference is personal background. People who, because of socioeconomic constraints or cultural influences, have little contact with flying as a profession are not likely to view it as a readily accessible vocation. A greater proportion of blacks than whites fall into this category.

Consequently, blacks tend not to include flying among their professional preferences, and the resulting lack of role models within the black community helps perpetuate this tendency. To counter this trend, the services have developed awareness programs to acquaint minorities with the full range of military occupations, including aviation.

Attrition

The other reason for the low number of blacks in aviation is their high rate of attrition from flight training programs—a rate which significantly exceeds that of their white counterparts (see Table 3). In the Army and Air Force, blacks failed to complete pilot training at nearly two and one-half times the rate of whites. The attrition rates of black students in Air Force navigator and Naval flight officer training also significantly exceeded those of whites.

Concern over these differences has prompted Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to order a study of black performance in flight training. To begin the study, each service is reviewing the performance of its flight students. Although all the data are not yet in, some interesting findings have begun to emerge.

The Army examined a number of factors to assess their accuracy as predictors of success. Age was found to be the most accurate predictor: the older the student, the less the likelihood of success. The score on a written flight aptitude test, too, was found to be a reliable predictor. Black flying candidates were disproportionately represented among the older candidates (28-30), and on the average, their flight aptitude scores were significantly lower than those of whites.

The Army found that most students, both black and white, left the training program during the same phases and for the same reasons—primarily "flying deficiency," which means unsatisfactory performance in the actual piloting of an aircraft.

Concerned Pioneers

One group with a particular interest in the attrition issue is the Tuskegee Airmen, Inc. Made up of black aviators and flying support personnel who served in World War II, the organization traces its roots to the Tuskegee Army Airfield in Alabama, where, in July 1941, the Army Air Corps initiated a program of pilot training for blacks.

Veterans of this early program established the Tuskegee Airmen, Inc. in 1972 to prevent their activities and accomplishments from being forgotten and to encourage minority youth to pursue careers in aviation and aviation sciences. The Airmen have included such servicemen as General Daniel "Chappie" James, the first black four-star general in military history, and Lieutenant General B. O. Davis, Jr., the first black Air Force general. Two JCPS board members—Wendell Freeland, Esq. (chairman), and Percy E. Sutton, chairman of the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation and former president of the Borough of Manhattan—are members.

The Tuskegee Airmen's concern that young blacks succeed in flying careers prompted the group's president, Jean Esquerre, to write Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger about the "unacceptably high" attrition rate among blacks who enter flight training. In his reply, Secretary Weinberger acknowledged his own dissatisfaction with the attrition rate of blacks in flight training and pledged to address the issue. The study discussed here is the result of that pledge.

Table 1. Percentage of Blacks Among Military Flight Personnel (Oct.-Nov. 1983)

	Pilots	Air Force Navigators/ Naval Flight Officers
Air Force	1.1	2.7
Navy	1.3	1.8
Marine Corps	1.1	1.8
Army	2.9	—

Table 2. Student Pilots (No./% of Black-White Total)

	Air Force	Navy*	Army
White	6573/97.9%	3620/98%	2040/94.1%
Black	142/2.1%	72/2%	127/5.9%

Note: Air Force data: Oct. 79-Apr. 83; Navy: Oct. 80-May 83; Army: Feb. 81-Feb. 83.

*Navy analysis does not include Marine Corps data.

Table 3. Student Pilot Attrition Rates

	Air Force	Navy*	Army
White	19.9%	32.3%	10.9%
Black	52.1%	34.7%	26.8%

Note: Air Force data: Oct. 79-Apr. 83; Navy: Oct. 80-May 83; Army: Feb. 81-Feb. 83.

*Navy analysis does not include Marine Corps data.

Because of the small black enrollment, though, the net effect of black losses was two and one-half times that of white losses.

The Air Force found that the pilots and navigator aptitude scores of black flight students on average lagged significantly behind those of their white counterparts. Moreover, significantly fewer blacks possessed technical degrees, which are usually reliable predictors of success. But in addition, a much higher proportion of blacks than whites with pilot aptitude scores in the mid- to upper-percentile ranges failed to complete pilot training, for reasons not yet known. And there were two attrition categories in which the percentage of blacks who failed to complete the training exceeded that of whites: piloting deficiency (blacks, 66.2 percent; whites, 55.4 percent) and academic deficiency (for pilots, 9.5 percent for blacks versus 2.2 percent for whites, and for navigators, 17.9 percent for blacks versus 9.9 percent for whites). As with the Army, the net effect of the black losses was especially heavy, since the number of black pilot and navigator candidates was so small.

The Navy's student pilot attrition rates for blacks and whites were much closer than those of the other services. In fact, during the period under review, the Navy's black attrition rate was at times lower than the white rate. The reasons for the rate fluctuations and general closeness are not known. The attrition categories in which black elimination rates exceeded the Navy average were: piloting deficiency (36 percent for blacks versus 25.4 percent for whites); academic deficiency (for pilots, 16 percent for blacks versus 7.2 percent for whites, and for Naval flight officers, 26.5 percent for blacks versus 12.2 percent for whites); and deficiency in practical application (for Naval flight officers, 32.4 percent for blacks versus 23.8 percent for whites).

The reasons for differences in performance between black and white flight students will certainly remain a principal focus of the military studies. On the basis of analyses completed thus far, however, the services believe that the flight training programs themselves do not discriminate against blacks. They attribute differences in attrition rates to differences in qualifications of applicants. Fewer blacks enter flight programs possessing the "success factors" or attributes most often associated with completing the training, such as high flight aptitude scores and a scientific or technical background.

Another factor that can be of considerable importance is family background. For example, flight candidates who have the support of family members associated with aviation are likely to have some advantage as they approach flight training. A 1976 Air Force Human Resources Laboratory (AFHRL) study of similarities and differences among pilot trainees supports this view. That study reported a very significant distinction between the responses of graduates and nongraduates concerning their reasons for entering pilot training.

Graduates cited as a major factor in their decision to pursue a flying career the influence of a parent or relative who

was a pilot or in the Air Force. Among those who failed to complete pilot training, this reason was given far less frequently. The study saw several factors as contributing to the success of graduates: (a) the long-term, positive motivation toward flying provided by these parents or relatives, (b) realistic expectations of flying requirements, and (c) good understanding and support from their parents. The influence of parents and relatives with Air Force or pilot experience generated more realistic goals and expectations regarding the pilot training program. The AFHRL finding suggests that flying aspirants whose parents or relatives are not associated with aviation may lack some advantage as they enter flight training.

Another factor that probably bears on performance in flight training is a candidate's academic background. Students—whether black or white—who graduate from college with less than a strong proficiency in verbal and quantitative skills probably have difficulty keeping up with the rigorous curriculum and rapid pace of flight training. Additionally, for some black students, most notably those from predominantly black colleges, having to adapt quickly to an unfamiliar social and cultural (as well as geographical) environment may give rise to pressures that hamper learning. If the student is the only black (or one of very few blacks) in a class, the problem is compounded. Undoubtedly, other relevant factors will emerge as the services grapple with this issue.

As reported in the March 1983 *Focus*, the services have redirected much of their recruiting effort toward individuals with scientific and technical skills. If they are successful in attracting better qualified black candidates to their flight training programs, the attrition rates may decline. But since very few black college students receive degrees in scientific and technical fields (less than 7 percent in 1981), attracting such students will be a major challenge to the military. Among the initiatives undertaken to meet this objective is the use of military scholarships and expanded publicity and recruiting efforts targeted at well-qualified blacks in both the military and civilian sectors. And the training process itself is being studied to determine ways of improving the performance of blacks and other minorities.

The attrition data suggest, and discussions with service representatives confirm, that increasing the cadre of blacks in aviation will be no easy task. But failure to solve the problem, or at least significantly improve the performance of black students, will mean continuing unacceptably high attrition rates, with all their implications.

Furthermore, students who fail to complete flight training are not always retained by the service. Retention depends on a number of factors, including source of commission, whether a student is on scholarship, the area of the student's undergraduate degree, and the needs of the armed services. When black officers who are eliminated from flight training do not qualify for retention, service efforts to increase minority officer representation are hampered.

Finally, if blacks are to reach the highest military grades, their underrepresentation in such highly regarded areas as aviation must be overcome.

Martin Luther King, Jr. . . .

(Continued from page 3)

records of his conversations with Levison—is already publicly available.

What's more, the Ford administration established two Justice Department task forces to review and report on the surveillance materials subsequently put under court seal. Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger headed the first probe and personally reviewed the relevant recordings; he said later that "there was nothing in the files, either in tapes or written records . . . that indicated that Martin Luther King was a Communist or Communist sympathizer, or in any way knowingly or negligently let himself be used by Communists." The director of the second inquiry, attorney Fred G. Folsom, reached similar conclusions after his private review of the now-sealed documents. "King was no Communist," he explained, and "the material did not deal with politics or philosophical views; it was of a personal nature and highly irrelevant."

King's Private Life

The conservatives also had a second line of attack: that the details of King's private life should be aired publicly before according him any national honor. But if no famous American who is reliably believed to have had extramarital relationships were worthy of honor, the list of leaders barred would be a very long one indeed. In fact, most recent presidents—Lyndon Johnson, John Kennedy, Dwight Eisenhower, and Franklin D. Roosevelt—would be on such a list. Thomas Jefferson—whom Senator Helms volunteered as his "favorite" candidate for a national holiday—is strongly suspected to have had an intimate relationship with one of his female slaves. In short, many critics seem eager to apply to King a harsh standard that is not applied to other political figures.

No other American leader has ever been the target of the sort of hostile and extensive electronic scrutiny directed against King. In his formal report to then-Attorney General Edward H. Levi, Pottinger decried the "illegal and improper investigative activities" the FBI had used in order to obtain such recordings and characterized the items as "scurrilous and immaterial to any proper law enforcement function or historic purpose." Also, there is no precedent at all in American history for judging the merits of a political career on bedroom recordings. Had Helms won release of the FBI's tapes, the original invasion of King's privacy through FBI surveillance would only have been compounded.

Subversive Politics?

The third line of right wing attack on King has been the charge that his actual political beliefs were dangerously subversive. Senator Helms charged that King's "action-oriented Marxism" can be uncovered in the texts of some of his public speeches. According to Helms, King's move beyond challenges to racial discrimination and his advocacy of an end to both domestic poverty and America's military involvement in Vietnam revealed him as an unpatriotic citizen. Helms concluded that King's "political views were those of a radical political minority" and hence undeserving of national honor.

King increasingly and strongly denounced economic injustice during the last few years of his life. He also called for decisive government action to end poverty and to provide jobs, adequate housing, quality education, and medical care for the millions of Americans who lacked these staples of life. More and more, he spoke about "the gulf between the haves and the have nots." Often, he sounded pessimistic about the possibilities for comprehensive change, and suggested there would have to be "a radical redistribution of economic and political power" in America. Occasionally, King went a step further, declaring that "something is wrong with capitalism" and that "maybe America must move toward a democratic socialism."

In the later years, King also vigorously criticized the war in Vietnam, denouncing America's military excesses and calling for an end to the United States' self-appointed role as policeman of the Third World. Racism, he often noted, could be seen not only in southern segregation and domestic economic injustice, but also in America's foreign policy from southeast Asia to southern Africa. At times, his attacks upon American conduct in Vietnam grew strong indeed. Mainstream newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* rebuked King for asserting that the United States was "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

Some of King's phrases made many people uncomfortable, but history has shown that his early opposition to the Vietnam debacle was just as prescient as his advocacy of comprehensive government action to aid the nation's poor. King's opposition to war, his commitment to nonviolence, and his deep-seated desire to eliminate poverty might irk Jesse Helms, but none of King's positions, not even his harshest rhetoric, ever represented "action-oriented Marxism." As for his being part of "a radical political minority," King's policy preferences, both foreign and domestic, are ones that great segments of the American public have come to support in the years since his death.

Senator Robert Dole (R-KS), in a tribute to Dr. King published in the *Washington Post*, noted that progress can be made only by people who are willing to be in the dissenting minority. He quoted George Bernard Shaw: "The reasonable man adapts himself to the world. The unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore, all progress depends on the unreasonable man." That King's political beliefs were not in the mainstream of his time is a sign of his greatness, not a flaw in his character.

All in all, the attempts to forestall a Martin Luther King holiday by discrediting King were based on allegations already proven false, aspects of his life irrelevant to the reasons for honoring him, and basic misunderstandings of his political program. By raising these erroneous objections, opponents have drawn attention away from the real significance of King's contribution and America's decision to honor it.

That contribution was indeed revolutionary—in both form and content. In form, because King used peaceful means in a violent world. In content, be-

(Continued on page 7)

The Civil Rights Commission . . .

(Continued from page 4)

nees, focusing instead on the issue of the commission's independence.

In August, the House of Representatives considered legislation to extend the commission's life beyond the scheduled termination date of September 30, 1983. By a vote of 286 to 128, the House adopted an amendment, offered by Representative Don Edwards (D-CA), prohibiting the removal of commissioners except for neglect of duty or malfeasance in office. House members were well aware that this vote was a kind of referendum on the president's actions. Moments later, the House voted overwhelmingly to extend the commission's life.

In the Senate, controversy about the commission still centered on the pending three nominations sent up in May. Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee and civil rights groups worked together for weeks to develop a bipartisan compromise that would keep the commission alive and independent.

Compromise

By late October, it was clear that despite White House refusal to endorse any proposal satisfactory to Democrats, moderate Republicans, and the civil rights community, a majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee and more than 60 senators in all were ready to support a compromise plan. The plan would have expanded the membership of the commission from six to eight members. The seats of the six incumbents would be saved, and the president would get two additional nominees. Convinced that a resolution of the difficult struggle was at hand, Judiciary Committee Chairman Strom Thurmond (R-SC) said on the floor of the Senate that he would call the matter up for a vote in his committee on October 25.

Facing the virtual certainty of defeat, the president, on October 25, undertook a new move to control the commission: he fired Commissioners Berry, Ramirez, and Saltzman. His action not only sabotaged the carefully forged congressional compromise, but it left the commission even more in danger of complete extinction, for there was little time left to negotiate. The commission was already well into the 60-day period during which, by law, its only permitted activity was to shut down.

In response to the firings, Congress acted with unusual speed and resolution. Legislation to take the commission completely out of the executive branch of government gained the cosponsorship of 55 senators in six days. But Republican Senators Baker (TN), the Majority Leader; Dole (KS); and Domenici (NM) urged the civil rights community to work with them to develop a new compromise that would give the president some share in the appointment of commissioners.

The abrupt firings of October 25 left many civil rights advocates skeptical about any further efforts to compromise, but the desire to keep the commission alive was as strong as ever—provided the overriding goal of independence could be preserved. In addition, Senators Baker, Dole, and Domenici had demonstrated in the past that they were willing to engage in good-faith negotiations over civil rights issues. Finally, the 55 cosponsors would not have

been enough votes to override a veto had Congress passed legislation the president disliked. For many, many hours during the second week of November, representatives of civil rights groups worked with them and Senators Biden (D-DE), Kennedy (D-MA), Specter (R-PA), Stenzenbaum (D-OH), and their staffs. As always, fundamental principles guided the civil rights advocates:

- the independence of the commission must be ensured through the provision that no president could appoint a majority of the commissioners during any one term of office;

- the commissioners could be removed only for malfeasance or neglect of duty;

- these principles must apply to President Reagan as well as future presidents. Therefore, he would be entitled only to two new appointments, and the commissioners he had fired without cause would be retained. Retention of Commissioners Mary Louise Smith and Jill Ruckelshaus was also an essential element of every option discussed.

Commissioners Berry and Ramirez filed suit to keep the firings from taking effect, on the ground that the terminations were inconsistent with the independent character of the commission, and eventually, they obtained a court order that kept them in office.

On November 10, Senator Dole offered to civil rights groups a compromise agreement under which four commissioners would be presidentially appointed and four would be named by Congress. Neither the president nor Congress could appoint more than two commissioners from the same political party. Although the law would contain no specific names, Dole's proposal was premised on the understanding that President Reagan would reappoint Mary Louise Smith, the House Republican Minority Leader would recommend Jill Ruckelshaus to the Speaker for appointment, and Senator Baker, as Majority Leader, would recommend to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate that one Senate appointee be a Republican with strong civil rights credentials. Commissioner Pendleton would remain as a presidential appointment and the president would get to name two new people (presumably Abram and Bunzel). Commissioners Berry and Ramirez were expected to be the choices of Democrats in the House and Senate.

Civil rights groups accepted the proposal, and by late the night of the tenth, Senator Dole had obtained agreement from leading senators and representatives of both parties and from the White House. Senators Joseph Biden and Arlen Specter held a press conference on November 11, sharing with reporters the specifics of the compromise. Congress passed it the following week.

"Double Cross"

Then the agreement began to unravel. After a week, the White House expressed reservations about the constitutionality of the bill's provisions concerning the appointment of commissioners. Nonetheless, the president finally signed the bill at the last moment.

But on December 1, the White House said there

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Telescope

Black Unemployment Rate Drops, Finally

The unemployment rate for blacks, which had been around 20 percent for more than a year, dropped in November to 17.3 percent, its lowest level since February 1982. When the overall unemployment rate began to decline, in December 1982, black unemployment did not budge. The black unemployment rate finally began to decline in September 1983, according to the U.S. Department of Labor's monthly report on employment. Most of the improvement has been among adult men.

However, the black unemployment rate remains more than twice that of whites, which declined from 8.2 percent in August to 7.3 percent in November.

New Black Political Action Committee Formed

A group of young black professionals throughout the nation has organized the 21st Century Institute for Political Action, an independent nonpartisan political action committee. The 21st Century Institute aims to transform the black community's economic strength into political power. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., it is attempting to raise funds nationally to provide financial support to candidates at the national, state, and local levels who are responsive to the concerns of the black community. It also plans to contribute to campaigns of black delegates to both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions.

Honorary chairpersons of the institute's introductory reception, held in November 1983, included Mary Berry, professor of history and law and former vice-chairperson of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Edward Brooke, former U.S. senator; and Ronald Dellums, Mickey Leland, and Parren Mitchell, members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

For more information, write the 21st Century Institute for Political Action, 1710 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, or call (202) 462-2220.

Policy Framework Issues Set Before Congress

Eleanor Holmes Norton, testifying on behalf of the Joint Center before the U.S. House Budget Committee Task Force on Entitlements, Uncontrollables, and Indexing on October 27, 1983, stated that racism in America has seriously weakened the black family and urged policies and programs to improve black family formation and stability.

In summarizing for the committee the problems facing today's black families, Ms. Norton, professor of law at Georgetown University, stressed the growing number of poor black families headed by single women and the increasing number of black children being raised in these families. She listed three major areas that need to be addressed to strengthen black families: (1) redesign of welfare programs to include training and support that will allow young mothers eventually to graduate from the programs and become economically independent; (2) prevention of premature sex and early family formation on the part of young men and women so they can pursue education, training, and personal development; and (3) tools such as affirmative action in educa-

tion, employment, and entrepreneurial opportunities to strengthen black husband-wife families.

Ms. Norton's testimony was based on the section on the black family in *A Policy Framework for Racial Justice*, a statement published by JCPS last June. *Policy Framework* was written by 30 prominent black scholars brought together by the Joint Center over the last two years to explore the problems confronting black Americans. The House committee expressed an interest in translating the *Policy Framework* recommendations into legislation—perhaps funding a model demonstration project—and will be working with Ms. Norton to devise an appropriate vehicle for sponsoring such legislation.

The Civil Rights Commission . . .

(Continued from page 6)

had been no agreement to reappoint Mary Louise Smith. According to Vice President Bush, the refusal of Ms. Smith to pledge support for the president's designation of chairman was the problem. Then, on December 7, Congressman Robert Michel, the House Republican Leader, chose Robert Destro for his recommendation instead of Jill Ruckelshaus.

These are the actions civil rights advocates called a "double-cross."

The events have been sobering for these advocates, who saw bipartisan efforts lead to passage of the civil rights legislation of the 60s, the 70s, and most recently, the Voting Rights Act extension of 1982. Such cooperation may be difficult or impossible to repeat.

And this is only one of the casualties of the Civil Rights Commission battle. The existence of any independent, nonpartisan, federal voice on civil rights has been left in doubt.

The existence of such a voice was the real issue in the struggle of the last few months—not perspectives on affirmative action, busing, or other aspects of the national civil rights effort. The question is whether the commission will be able to do the work it was created to do: "appraise the laws and policies of the federal government" with respect to civil rights. This work necessarily includes evaluating the policies of each administration. Such evaluations are meaningless if commissioners are replaced at will when they do not agree with those very policies.

How the Civil Rights Commission, as currently composed, will fulfill its original mandate remains to be seen. But it is not only the civil rights community that thinks the White House has failed to play by the rules, and the administration's actions will surely be a political issue in 1984.

Martin Luther King, Jr. . . .

(Continued from page 5)

cause he asked a hypocritical country to be true to its professed ideals. The revolution is not complete, but by designating the third Monday in January as a King holiday, the United States has taken a significant step toward recommitting itself to the ideals of justice and equality to which Martin Luther King, Jr. dedicated his own life.

Largest Increase in BEOs Since 1976

The number of black elected officials nationwide rose by 8.6 percent between July 1982 and July 1983, the Joint Center for Political Studies has found. As of July 1983, there were 5,606 black elected officials, up from 5,160 in July 1982.

The 1983 increase represents a dramatic turnaround in the trend of the last eight years. Although the number of black elected officials has increased every year, the rate of increase has been declining since the early 1970s, after the early spurt of progress following passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Last year's increase was only 2.4 percent.

The jump in the number of black elected officials is part of a general upsurge in black political activity. The number of registered black voters increased by almost 600,000 between 1980 and 1982; black turnout rose by 5.8 percent in the 1982 congressional elections (over the 1978 level); and 1983 saw highly visible campaigns by black candidates at several levels of government.

The South, which has 62 percent of the black elected officials in the country, had the largest net gain of any region—301 more black elected officials, an increase of 9.6 percent. But the Northeast, with 12 percent of black officials, had a greater rate

of increase—14 percent. The states with the largest increases were Arkansas, with a net gain of 78, for a total of 297; New York, which gained 44; Oklahoma, 42; Illinois, 38; and Louisiana, 36. Mississippi still has the highest total number of black elected officials, 433—9 more than in 1982. (As usual, a small proportion of these gains represent officials who had been in office but were not known to the Joint Center in previous years.)

The number of black members of Congress increased from 18 to 21, or 16.7 percent. The number of black state legislators rose by 13.6 percent, and the number of black mayors, by 10.8 percent.

Once again, the increase in the number of female black elected officials was larger than the overall increase: 13.1 percent. As of July 1983, some 22 percent of all black elected officials—1,223—were women. By contrast, only about 10 percent of all elected officials are women.

The Joint Center has been counting black elected officials since 1970. In 1965, when the VRA was first passed, it is estimated there were fewer than 300 black elected officials in the country. Even at the new high, however, blacks hold only 1.1 percent of the elective offices in the country.

Change in Number of Black Elected Officials by Category of Office, 1970-1983

	Total BEOs		Federal	State	Substate regional	County	Municipal	Judicial/law enforcement	Education
Year	N	% Change	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
1970	1,469	—	10	169	—	92	623	213	362
1971	1,860	26.6	14	202	—	120	785	274	465
1972	2,264	21.7	14	210	—	176	932	263	669
1973	2,621	15.7	16	240	—	211	1,053	334	767
1974	2,991	14.2	17	239	—	242	1,360	340	793
1975	3,503	17.1	18	281	—	305	1,573	387	939
1976	3,979	13.6	18	281	30	355	1,889	412	994
1977	4,311	8.3	17	299	33	381	2,083	447	1,051
1978	4,503	4.5	17	299	26	410	2,159	454	1,138
1979	4,607	2.3	17	313	25	398	2,224	486	1,144
1980	4,912	6.6	17	323	25	451	2,356	526	1,214
1981	5,038	2.6	18	341	30	449	2,384	549	1,267
1982	5,160	2.4	18	336	35	465	2,451	563	1,266
1983	5,606	8.6	21 (16.7%)	379 (12.8%)	29 (-17.1%)	496 (6.7%)	2,697 (8.9%)	607 (7.8%)	1,377 (8.8%)

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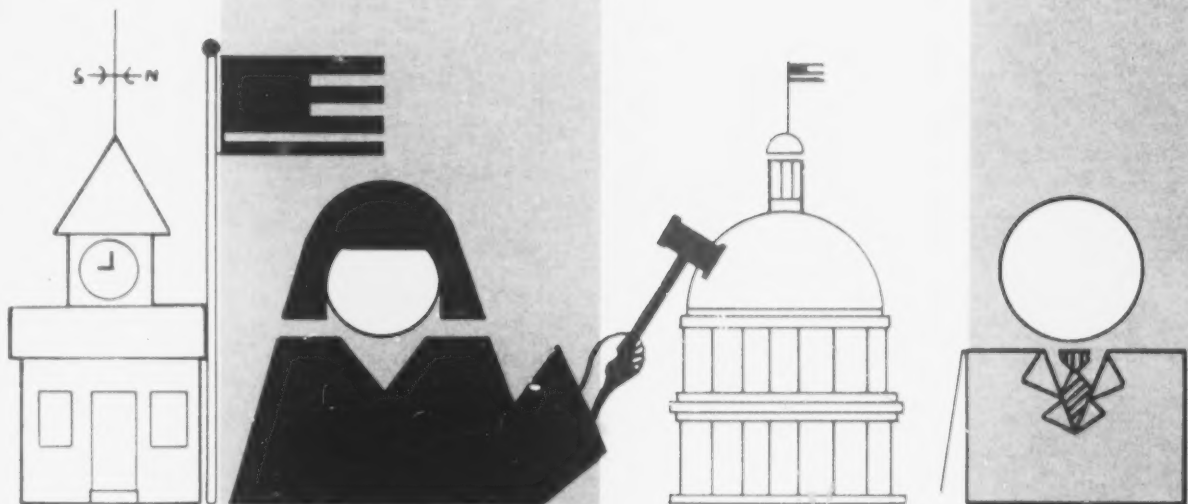
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JCPS ANNUAL DINNER
To Salute Black Elected Officials

SPECIAL ISSUE

A National Profile of Black Elected Officials



Joint Center for Political Studies

ISSN 0740-0195

Perspective

On March 2, the Joint Center will pay tribute to the nation's 5,600 black elected officials at its seventh annual dinner. A large number of these officials will be present for this special occasion, which features former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan as guest speaker.

But these officials will also be in Washington for another event that has far greater implications for their future success than receiving a much deserved honor. They will participate in the Fourth National Policy Institute, which will focus on both the issues that concern them and the financial resources that often elude them.

The Fourth National Policy Institute, which coincides with the Joint Center's annual dinner, will follow in the tradition of previous national gatherings in 1967, 1969, and 1975. It will involve participants in discussions on such issues as employment and training, education, social services, economic development—just to name a few. Participants also will try to identify the best and most practicable solutions to their concerns and the financial resources with which to implement programs. And of course, they will discuss coalition building, public-private partnerships, and voter mobilization—seeking to strengthen the strategies available to them to influence public policy decisions.

Expert panels will include speakers such as Mayors Wilson Goode of Philadelphia and "Dutch" Morial of New Orleans; Congressmen George Crockett of Michigan, Walter Fauntroy of the District of Columbia, and Alan Wheat of Missouri; Derek Bell, Dean of the University of Oregon Law School; Mary Berry, member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Eleanor Holmes Norton, professor at Georgetown University; Marc Stepp, vice president of the United Auto Workers; and Frederick M. Stevens, senior vice president of K-Mart.

We see this important and timely meeting as a critical step in the black community's strategic planning process. This planning involves an examination of the current state of black America; an assessment of external factors, such as the economy and the political mood of the country; and making realistic projections of future social, economic, po-

litical, and technological trends. With this information in hand, we can begin to chart a progressive course and to identify policy options and strategies that best suit our needs.

Black elected officials must be involved in this planning, because they are on the cutting edge of today's pursuit of racial justice through public policy initiatives.

Their position of leadership is unique, and the difficulties they face are often unrecognized. They are exposed to the full blast of demands from their constituents, and yet they are often a small voting minority in the legislative bodies where decisions are made. Nevertheless, they have managed to make valuable contributions to the black community as well as to their jurisdictions as a whole.

For these and many other reasons, the Joint Center is saluting black elected officials. We are also saluting them because they are working symbols of the power of the black vote. And so by honoring them, we add a tribute and a word of encouragement to black voters.

The black vote will be a major factor in 1984. There is, I believe, an emerging movement within the black community to use the political process to pursue social justice in the 80s. This new movement helps to fulfill one dream that Martin Luther King, Jr., had for the disadvantaged in America. He called for a nonviolent revolution that relies, in part, on law and moral suasion, but that also relies heavily on direct political action. Historian David Lewis wrote that King believed that "racial compassion had to be reinforced by old-fashioned American political quid pro quo."

When black elected officials meet in Washington next month, they also will spend time mapping political strategies and determining the most effective means of further mobilizing the black vote.

Their meeting will be graphic evidence of black America's continuing quest for justice and equality in America.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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National Profile of Black Elected Officials

By Milton D. Morris

(Dr. Morris is Director of Research at the Joint Center for Political Studies.)

For the past twelve years, the Joint Center has published the annual National Roster of Black Elected Officials, with a statistical overview and a complete listing of all blacks in office as of July of the given year. With current technology, we believe we can update the listings more frequently and produce them more efficiently. We have therefore decided to shift the cutoff date from June 30 to January 30, to pick up officials elected in November and inaugurated in January.

The statistical overview in this issue of Focus covers all blacks in office as of July 1983; it will serve as a transition count. We are now in the process of developing an efficient new form of dissemination for the listing that will be as current and useful as possible. We will inform our readers of publication plans in the near future.)

The Joint Center's most recent annual survey of black elected officials indicates that during the year ending in July 1983, the number of black elected officials increased by 8.6 percent—from 5,160 to 5,606. This is the sharpest increase since 1976 and one of the largest numerical increases in the past ten years. It is further evidence of a dramatic upsurge in black political participation at all levels of government.

Several factors apparently contributed to the upsurge in the number of black elected officials. One of the most important undoubtedly has been the sharp upturn in the percentage of blacks voting since 1980. This upturn was first evidenced in the 1980 presidential elections, when black turnout increased by a percentage point after nearly two decades of steady decline. In the 1982 Congressional elections the black vote rose more than 5 percentage points over 1978, the previous off-year elections, and the gap between black and white turnout reached an all-time low of 6.9 percent. Polling results suggest that this activity has been strongly stimulated by dissatisfaction with the Reagan administration. Moreover, highly visible black candidacies such as Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's bid for governor of California and Harold Washington's mayoral race in Chicago helped spur black turnout further.

Another important factor behind the increase in BEOs has been the new round of redistricting necessitated by the 1980 census. That process created several legislative districts with black majorities—especially in states covered by Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. Such districts greatly increase the opportunity for the election of blacks.

In some cases, such as Florida and South Carolina, multi-member senate districts have been replaced with single-member districts, which also increase the likelihood that black candidates can win elections. As a result, Florida elected its first black state senator since Reconstruction, and South Carolina is likely to do the same when elections are held later this year.

Although the overwhelming majority of black can-

didates must still depend on black voting majorities to win elections, another reason for the recent increase appears to be the growing skill and sophistication of black candidates in forging coalitions across racial and ethnic groups and using new campaign strategies. Many large cities have experienced sharp increases in the proportion of blacks and Hispanics, and there is evidence of a growing effort by both groups to build coalitions in seeking office.

The continued growth in the number of black elected officials has broad implications for blacks and for the political system. The psychic and symbolic benefits of these electoral successes for blacks are obvious and considerable. Such gains, especially in the South, are firm evidence of continued progress by blacks in breaking down once-formidable barriers to political participation and in achieving a direct role in the governance of their communities.

But blacks have sought much more than psychic benefits from political participation. They consider it a means of achieving concrete economic and social benefits and protecting themselves from discriminatory public policies and practices.

Although direct links between political participation and the distribution of specific benefits are often hard to prove, there is growing evidence that blacks indeed derive such benefits, especially from electing members of their own race to public office. For example, a 1981 study of Newark, New Jersey, found that black mayor Kenneth Gibson was instrumental in "expanding the universe of those engaged in the political system" and increasing the number of blacks appointed to higher offices and employed throughout city governments.

A recently published JCPS study, *Black Employment in City Government, 1973-1980*, found a strong correlation between black political influence and the number and quality of municipal jobs held by blacks in 40 cities. The correlation was especially strong for cities with black mayors. There is less systematic but impressive evidence that the distribution of many public services to minorities and encouragement of minority business development also are directly affected by the presence of blacks as mayors or members of municipal governing bodies.

Equally important, current gains can be expected to pave the way for steadily expanding black political influence. Political scientists have long claimed that people tend to participate more as they perceive desirable results of their participation. As evidence of the benefits of black political influence become widely perceived among blacks, they are likely to invest more effort in politics—both as voters and as candidates. To be sure, blacks who have won office are in the difficult position of balancing the expectations of their constituencies with the stringent financial conditions of their jurisdictions. Nevertheless, black elected officials are powerful mobilizers in their own right, invariably stimulating heightened interest and thus increased voting by blacks. Continued brisk growth in the ranks of black elected officials is therefore both evidence of a more inclusive political system and a stimulus to greater participation.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, July 1983

State	Total	Net Change Since July 1982	Federal	State	Substate Regional	County	Municipal	Judicial and Law Enforcement	Education
			Senators Representatives	Administrators Senators Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies Members, Other County Bodies Other County Officials	Mayors Members, Municipal Governing Bodies Members, Municipal Boards Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort Judges, Other Courts Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables Other Judicial Officials Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshalls Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies Members, University and College Boards Members, Local School Boards Other Education Officials
Alabama	309	+40		3 17		36 11	25 130 4	1 8 21 5 5	42 1
Alaska	2	0		1					1
Arizona	14	-1		2		1	4	1	6
Arkansas	297	+78		1 4			18 119 14	1 1 38	101
California	244	+5	4	2 6	3	3 1 1	10 40 7 4	1 58 4	17 85 2
Colorado	14	0		1 2			3		1 3
Connecticut	61	+7		1 3 7			1 29 2 1	4	13
Delaware	22	0		1 2			1 9		9
Dist. of Columbia	254	0	1				1 10 232		10
Florida	128	+10		2 10		3 1	7 82 1	1 9	12
Georgia	284	+13		4 21		24 3	12 141 3	1 10 5 1	57 2
Hawaii	1	-1							1
Idaho	0	0							
Illinois	363	+38		1 6 13		28 2	18 136 41 14	26 3	3 72
Indiana	67	0	1	2 6		8 1	1 34 3 2	1	6
Iowa	7	+1		1				1	2 3
Kansas	27	+1		1 3		2	8 1 2	2	8
Kentucky	70	-9		1 3			3 41	3 2 1 1	15
Louisiana	408	+36		2 11		86 1	13 141 2 1	4 31 1 10	108
Maine	4	0							1
Maryland	90	+8	1	5 18		3	7 38 2	1 6 3 1	5
Massachusetts	30	+2		1 5		1	11 3		9
Michigan	293	0	2	1 3 14		23 4	12 69 22	50 2 1	1 16 74
Minnesota	10	0		1			3		3
Mississippi	433	+9		2 15		28 31 9	21 163 5	2 65 2 4	79 7
Missouri	153	+6	2	3 12		3	14 87 5	8 1 2 2	14
Montana	0	0							
Nebraska	5	-1		1			1		1 2
Nevada	10	+2		1 2		1	2	1 1	1 1
New Hampshire	1	+1					1		
New Jersey	190	+20		1 5		7 1	8 74 1 1		92
New Mexico	6	0				1	1 3		1
New York	236	+44	3	4 15		7	28 1 1	41 1	135
North Carolina	291	+25		1 11	1	27 1	17 144 1	1 7 1 1 2	76
North Dakota	0	0							
Ohio	200	+6	1	2 10		2	8 94 3 5	24	1 50
Oklahoma	124	+42		3 3		2	14 48 1 27	1 1	24
Oregon	7	+1		1 1		1	1	2	1
Pennsylvania	130	+7	1	4 15		1	2 40 2	1 24 24 1	15
Rhode Island	6	0		1 3			1 1		
South Carolina	252	+17		20		33 1 3	14 108 2	2 3	62 4
South Dakota	0	0							
Tennessee	131	+4	1	3 10		50	1 27	11 5 1	22
Texas	230	+23	1	1 12		8	9 89 1	7 17 1	1 4 79
Utah	1	0		1					
Vermont	0	0							
Virginia	98	+5		2 4		30 4	5 45 2	3 3	
Virgin Islands	47	+2		1 13	25				8
Washington	15	0		1 1			1 8	2	4
West Virginia	20	0		1			2 13	1 1	
Wisconsin	19	+3		1 3		2	6	3 1	3
Wyoming	2	+2		1					1
Total	5,606		21	4 85 290	4 25	420 38 38	247 2,030 68 235 117	8 321 222 19 36 1	11 45 1,305 16

Black Mayors of Cities With Populations Over 50,000

Mayor	Term Expires	City	Population	% Black
Harold Washington	4/87	Chicago, IL	3,000,000	40.0
Thomas Bradley	7/85	Los Angeles, CA	2,996,763	17.0
W. Wilson Goode*	12/87	Philadelphia, PA	1,588,220	40.2
Coleman Young	12/85	Detroit, MI	1,203,339	63.1
Marion Barry	12/86	Washington, DC	637,651	70.3
Ernest Morial	3/86	New Orleans, LA	557,482	55.3
Andrew Young	12/85	Atlanta, GA	425,022	66.6
Kenneth Gibson	6/86	Newark, NJ	349,248	46.9
Lionel J. Wilson	6/85	Oakland, CA	339,288	46.9
Harvey B. Gantt*	12/85	Charlotte, NC	314,447	31.0
Richard Arrington	11/87	Birmingham, AL	284,413	55.6
Roy A. West	6/84	Richmond, VA	219,214	51.3
James Chase	12/85	Spokane, WA	171,300	1.6
James A. Sharp, Jr.*	12/85	Flint, MI	159,611	41.4
Richard G. Hatcher	12/87	Gary, IN	151,953	70.8
Thirman L. Milner	11/85	Hartford, CT	136,392	33.9
Loretta T. Glickman	5/85	Pasadena, CA	119,374	20.6
Gus Newport	4/86	Berkeley, CA	103,328	20.1
Noel Taylor	6/84	Roanoke, VA	100,247	22.0
Melvin Primas	7/85	Camden, NJ	84,910	53.0
Walter Tucker	12/85	Compton, CA	81,286	74.8
Thomas G. Mills	4/86	Carson, CA	81,221	29.3
Thomas Cooke, Jr.	12/85	East Orange, NJ	77,025	83.6
Wallace Holland	4/86	Pontiac, MI	76,715	37.2
Arnold Winfield	4/85	Evanston, IL (Evanston Township)	73,706	21.4
Eva Mack	3/85	West Palm Beach, FL	62,530	28.2
Carl E. Officer	5/87	East Saint Louis, IL	55,200	95.6

*Took office after July 1983; not counted in 1983 total.

Congressional Districts Represented by Blacks

Member of Congress	District	Principal City	% Black in District	% White in District	% Other in District
Dellums (D-CA)	8	Oakland	24	62	14
Dixon (D-CA)	28	Los Angeles	50	34	16
Dymally (D-CA)	31	Compton	36	40	24
Hawkins (D-CA)	29	Los Angeles	49	33	18
Fauntroy (D-DC)	At-Large	Washington, D.C.	70	27	3
Collins (D-IL)	7	Chicago	50	30	20
Savage (D-IL)	2	Chicago	77	18	5
Hayes (D-IL)	1	Chicago	92	7	1
Hall (D-IN)	1	Gary	30	65	5
Mitchell (D-MD)	7	Baltimore	79	20	1
Conyers (D-MI)	1	Detroit	87	11	2
Crockett (D-MI)	13	Detroit	79	18	3
Clay (D-MO)	1	St. Louis	65	34	1
Wheat (D-MO)	5	Kansas City	31	66	3
Towns (D-NY)	11	New York	32	59	9
Owens (D-NY)	12	Brooklyn	54	27	18
Rangel (D-NY)	19	New York	54	31	15
Stokes (D-OH)	21	Cleveland	79	20	1
Gray (D-PA)	1	Philadelphia	75	24	2
Ford (D-TN)	8	Memphis	63	36	1
Leland (D-TX)	18	Houston	43	39	18

Female Black Elected Officials in the United States, July 1983

State	Total	Net Change Since July 1982	Substate										Judicial and Law Enforcement								Education						
			Federal		State		Regional		County		Municipal																
			Senators	Representatives	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Member, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshalls	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	58	+6					4					1		3	33			3		6	2					5	
Alaska	1	+1																								1	
Arizona	3	+1					1																			2	
Arkansas	44	+14					1							3	13			10		2						15	
California	60	0				1	3	2						2	6	5		1		5						4	29
Colorado	5	+1					2												1						1	1	
Connecticut	15	-1				1	1								6	1				1						5	
Delaware	3	+1																								3	
Dist. of Columbia	113	+2													4		105									4	
Florida	22	+5				1	1			1	1		2	12				1		1						2	
Georgia	37	+3					5			1		1	1	15					3	1						10	
Hawaii	0	0																									
Idaho	0	0																									
Illinois	71	+8	1			2	3			7	1		1	18	11			4		3						20	
Indiana	14	-1	1			1	1					1		5		1	1									3	
Iowa	1	0																							1		
Kansas	2	+1																								2	
Kentucky	10	-1				1	1							5												3	
Louisiana	53	+4					1			4			2	22					1	3						20	
Maine	0	0																									
Maryland	26	+4					6			1			1	12	1						1					4	
Massachusetts	8	+3					2							2												4	
Michigan	94	-4					5			5			1	17				11		13					1	9	32
Minnesota	1	0																								1	
Mississippi	79	0								1	14	3	3	25				5		10						18	
Missouri	43	-3					2			1			2	29				2		1						6	
Montana	0	0																									
Nebraska	1	-1																								1	
Nevada	2	0																								1	1
New Hampshire	0	0																									
New Jersey	57	+10				1	1			4		1	1	10												39	
New Mexico	0	0																									
New York	88	+35				1	6			1				5				1		6						68	
North Carolina	55	+12					1	1		5			3	23				1		1		1				19	
North Dakota	0	0																									
Ohio	46	+2					1							21	3			1		5						15	
Oklahoma	44	+14					1			1			3	13				21								4	1
Oregon	2	0								1										1							
Pennsylvania	17	+2					2							6				2		2	1					4	
Rhode Island	0	0																									
South Carolina	47	+7					2			1			2	20				1								19	2
South Dakota	0	0																									
Tennessee	17	+6					1			2				3					1							10	
Texas	42	+9					3						1	15						2					1	20	
Utah	0	0																									
Vermont	0	0																									
Virginia	15	0										3		10				1			1						
Virgin Islands	16	+1					4		11																1		
Washington	1	-1																								1	
West Virginia	4	+2												1				2		1							
Wisconsin	5	-1					2			1				1												1	
Wyoming	1	+1					1																				
Total	1,223		0	2	0	9	64	3	11	37	16	10	31	352	21	106	68	0	44	27	5	0	0	2	17	392	6

Telescope

Federal Election Commission Resources for Teachers and Students

The Federal Election Commission has expanded its outreach program for teachers and students. The commission will be sponsoring displays, lectures, and programs on federal elections at universities, conferences, and other locations throughout the country. In addition, high school and university groups are encouraged to visit the commission, where a speaker will explain election laws and the commission's research facilities. Educational materials and assistance available from the FEC include brochures, campaign guides, lectures, and slide programs. A guidebook, *Voter Information and Education Programs*, outlines suggested curriculum programs on the electoral process for various grade levels.

The FEC hopes high school and college teachers and their students will use these resources for research assignments. Students can learn how to obtain election-related government documents, use computer-generated information, analyze campaign finance statistics, and compare political campaigns. Material specific to an individual congressional district or state is available.

Those interested in obtaining FEC materials or using its research facilities may call the Office of Public Communications at (202) 523-4068; or toll free, (800) 424-9530.

NYC University Registers 13,000 Potential Voters

The City University of New York has registered more than 12,800 students since launching an ambitious voter registration drive at the beginning of the 1983-84 school year (see "Telescope" in *Focus*, October 1983). CUNY's colleges offered students a chance to register during regular course registration. CUNY's voter registration committee concluded that certain factors can spur student voter registration: (1) a strong commitment on the part of the college president; (2) appointment by the president of a senior administrator to monitor voter registration activities; (3) the appearance of a popular personality on campus (Jesse Jackson visited several of the campuses and was enormously successful in getting students to register); and (4) encouraging student involvement throughout the entire process.

The committee felt that a strong commitment from the college president was most important; those colleges that had strong leadership from the top and a close working relationship with the students who participated in the registration drive registered the largest numbers of students.

JCPS Publishes Study on Blacks in City Government

Black Employment in City Government, 1973-1980, a study of 40 cities by Peter K. Eisinger, is now available from the Joint Center. Dr. Eisinger, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, found that the number of city jobs held by blacks rose by 9.3 percent between 1973 and 1980, in spite of a 7.1 percent decrease in the overall number of city government jobs during that period.

The percentage of all city government jobs held by blacks in the cities studied also increased, from 27.5 percent in 1973 to 32.6 percent in 1980.

Milton D. Morris, director of research at the Joint Center, points out "Eisinger's findings provide solid evidence that the increasing participation of blacks in urban governance—and particularly the election of blacks as mayors—is yielding tangible economic benefits. In view of the continuing rapid increase in the number of black mayors since 1980, we can anticipate widening opportunities for blacks in municipal employment."

Black Employment in City Government is available for \$4.95 from the publications clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Penn. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004.

Black Appointed Chief Justice of Pennsylvania

Robert N. C. Nix, Jr., a justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, was appointed chief justice, becoming the nation's first black to head a state court system. He was inaugurated at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia last month, where only several days earlier, W. Wilson Goode had been sworn in as the city's first black mayor.

Nix, who attended the University of Pennsylvania Law School, was a deputy attorney general of the state from 1956 to 1958 and a partner in the firm Nix, Rhodes and Nix from 1958 to 1968 with his father, a former U.S. congressman from Pennsylvania. In 1968, he became judge of the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia County, and in 1972, a justice of Pennsylvania's Supreme Court, where he served until his latest appointment.

Studies Indicate Link between Victim's Race and Use of Death Penalty

Several new studies indicate that imposition of the death penalty is related to the race of the victim: murderers of whites are much more likely to be sentenced to death than murderers of blacks. The Supreme Court has held that using the death penalty arbitrarily is unconstitutional; opponents of the death penalty cite these studies as evidence that it is applied arbitrarily and therefore unconstitutional. The courts have begun to consider the admissibility of these studies as evidence.

In one study, Samuel Gross and Robert Mauro of Stanford University examined the death penalty in eight states: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Virginia. In each of these states, they found that a person was much more likely to receive a sentence of death for murdering a white than a black. For example, in Georgia, from 1976 to 1980, 8.7 percent of those convicted of murdering a white victim but only 0.9 percent of those convicted of murdering a black victim received the death sentence.

The authors of these studies cite several possible reasons for differences in the way the death penalty was applied including: a legal system that values white lives more than black lives, predominantly white juries and judges, and racial bias on the part of prosecutors. The studies show that prosecutors are more likely to seek the death penalty if a white person has been killed.

The Joint Center for Political Studies Seventh Annual Dinner will be held on Friday, March 2, 1984, at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. This year's dinner is "A Salute to Black Elected Officials" and will feature as speaker Barbara Jordan.

John Filer, Chairman of Aetna Life & Casualty Company, is national chairman of the dinner. The general committee chairmen are Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Charles T. Manatt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. On the Honorary Advisory Committee are Thornton F. Bradshaw, chairman of RCA Corporation; Charles L. Brown, chairman of AT&T; Douglas A. Fraser, former president of the United Auto Workers; Donald M. Kendall, chairman of PEPSICO, Inc.; Robert E. Kirby, former chairman of Westinghouse Electric Corporation; Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO; Reginald H. Jones, former chairman of General Electric Company; George Weissman, chairman of Philip Morris Inc.; and Jerome B. Wiesner, president emeritus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The dinner will be held on the final night of the Fourth National Policy Institute for black elected and appointed officials, which will make it an especially lively event. Over 1,000 people have

*Joint Center
for
Political Studies*

7th Annual Dinner

attended in previous years; an even larger crowd is expected this time. Among those sponsoring tables at the dinner this year are the AFL-CIO; American Petroleum Institute; ARA Services, Inc.; Atlantic Richfield Company; CIGNA Corporation; Coca Cola Company; Edison Electric Institute; Exxon Corporation; First Boston Corporation; Ford Motor Company; General Electric Company; ITT Corporation; Mobil Corporation; R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc.; Schlumberger, Ltd.; Southern California Gas Company; and U.S. Steel Corporation.

Barbara Jordan was congresswoman from the eighteenth congressional district in Texas from 1973 to 1979. A member of the House Judiciary Committee, she rose to national prominence during the Watergate hearings. But she also played a key role

in advancing important legislation. For example, amendments she submitted to extend Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act to cover blacks and Hispanics in the Southwest became law in 1975. Since leaving the House, she has been Lyndon B. Johnson Public Service Professor at the University of Texas at Austin.

Tickets for the dinner are \$200.00 each; tables are \$2,000. Table and ticket purchases are 85 percent tax deductible. For further information or reservations, please call Alfreda Edwards, 202 626-3516.

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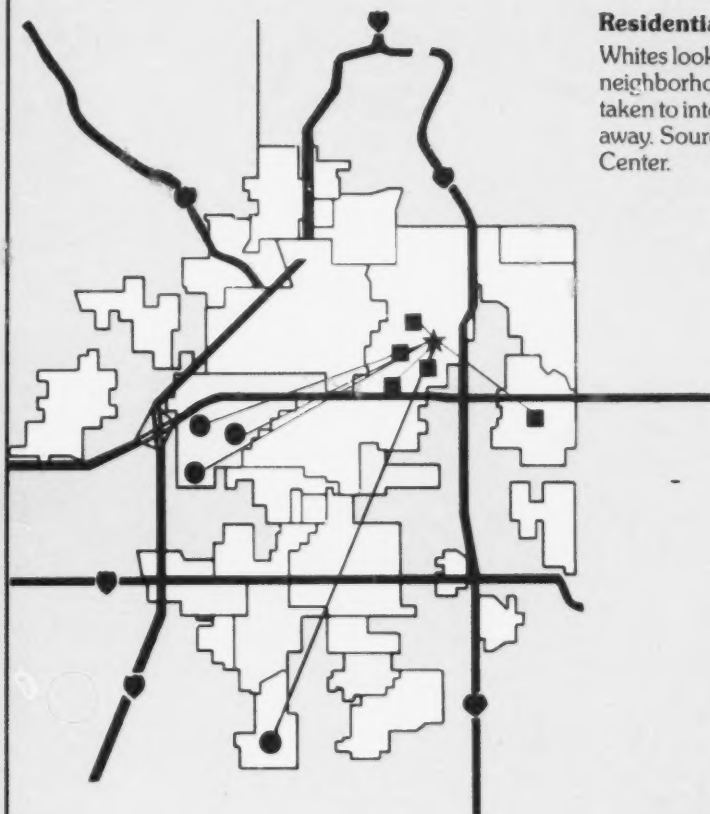
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Antitrust Law: A New Weapon against Housing Bias

The Fair Housing Act has failed to curb housing discrimination; antitrust law offers a promising new approach.



Residential Steering in the Chicago Suburbs:

Whites looking for houses were taken to white neighborhoods close to the realtor's office; blacks were taken to integrated and black neighborhoods much farther away. Source: South Suburban (Chicago) Housing Center.

Industrial Policy and Minorities

Would industrial policy address the needs of blacks in the changing U.S. economy?

Three New JCPS Publications Announced

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★ Realtor's Office
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● Black Testers

Perspective

On the occasion of its Seventh Annual Dinner on March 2, the Joint Center gave a much deserved salute to the nation's 5,600 black elected officials. The text of that tribute is printed below.

It was altogether fitting that this tribute came at the time of the Fourth National Policy Institute for black elected and appointed officials. More than five hundred officials were present for both events.

A recent Joint Center study described black officials this way: "The typical black elected official is a middle-aged, highly educated, upwardly mobile male affiliated with the Democratic party. This profile is changing in several significant respects, however. Black women are becoming more prominent (22 percent of the total in 1983). Black Republicans are becoming increasingly rare. And the most dramatic black political progress is being made in the South."

Both the institute and the dinner were nostalgic events for the Joint Center. In 1969, the second national conference of black officials had proposed the creation of the Joint Center, fulfilling a dream that had started with the first national meeting in 1967. The Joint Center came into being in 1970, and in 1975, it served as cosponsor and convenor of the Third National Policy Institute, a role it played again this year.

Paying tribute to our founders and working with them on policy issues of great importance gives us enormous pride, and we look forward to many more fruitful relationships with what we consider to be a principal constituency.

Following is the text of the Joint Center's salute to black elected officials:

"On the occasion of our Seventh Annual Dinner, the Joint Center for Political Studies proudly salutes the nation's 5,600 black elected officials for their outstanding leadership.

"Although they resemble their white counterparts

in a number of ways, black elected officials are really a unique cadre of American leaders. Often a small minority in the councils that govern our society, they are frequently called on to use their powers of persuasion and their coalition-building skills to convert their minority votes into majority actions.

"Such calls come from constituents and nonconstituents alike. For blacks, as for whites, electoral success depends upon their capacity to deliver the goods, so to speak, to the voters who elected them. But black officials are frequently asked—indeed challenged—to respond to the needs of a 'constituency' that extends far beyond their electoral jurisdictions. That challenge can be enormous, involving minority demands that are statewide or national in scope and nonminority demands to forge coalitions across racial lines.

"These heavy mantles of leadership are often unacknowledged or overshadowed by critical headlines. But this does not diminish the crucial leadership roles that black elected officials are playing in the pursuit of racial justice.

"There is yet another reason to pay tribute to this group. They symbolize the growing influence of the black vote. And so by honoring them, we also honor and encourage black voters.

"Together, black elected officials and black voters are realizing Martin Luther King's dream of a non-violent revolution that relies not only on law and moral suasion but also on direct political action. As Historian David Lewis wrote, King believed "racial compassion had to be reinforced by old fashioned American political *quid pro quo*."

"We salute black elected officials as the vanguard in today's pursuit of justice and equality."

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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A New Weapon Against Housing Bias

by Robert E. Suggs

(The author, a corporate lawyer, is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

More than 15 years after passage of the Fair Housing Act—Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act—housing discrimination remains rampant. In fact, a 1979 Department of Housing and Urban Development study—the largest survey of its kind ever undertaken—concluded that “discrimination is extensive and pervades metropolitan areas throughout the country.”

That same year, a Civil Rights Commission report found that “Title VIII . . . does not provide effective enforcement mechanisms for ensuring fair housing. Those federal departments and agencies charged with ensuring equal housing opportunity have not adequately carried out this duty. The government’s appropriations in support of fair housing have been inadequate to meet the nation’s needs in this critical area of civil rights enforcement.”

More than free choice of housing is at stake. Segregated housing contributes to school segregation, restricts access to public services and employment opportunities, and reduces the opportunity for equity accumulation. Purchasing a home is the largest single investment most Americans ever make, and home equity remains the principal source and repository of individual wealth. Mounting evidence indicates that housing discrimination significantly limits the ability of many blacks to accumulate home equity and thus wealth.

Because the problems of housing discrimination have been so intractable, it is worth investigating new approaches to this issue. Antitrust litigation may provide an important avenue in this effort.

The Extent of Housing Discrimination

Not only is the *degree* of housing segregation extremely high, but the *pattern* of housing segregation makes clear that this segregation is the result of more than income differentials or the personal preferences of homeowners. If these were the only causes of housing segregation, we would expect to find a checkerboard pattern of black and white neighborhoods—much as income differences lead to a checkerboard pattern of upper- and lower-income white neighborhoods. But only racial discrimination, operating through market practices, can explain the persistent pattern of black central-city cores surrounded by outlying white areas, with integration generally occurring only at the borders.

Prior to the Fair Housing Act, in the period of suburbanization that followed World War II, the federal government actively collaborated in the creation of central city ghettos and racially exclusive suburbs. The mortgage lending policies of government agencies such as the FHA joined private sector banking and real estate practices to exclude minorities from suburbs, effectively confining black demand for housing to specific geographic areas. Today’s clearly delineated urban racial boundaries testify to the success of these methods.

Although the Fair Housing Act and other federal,

state, and local legislation outlawed racial discrimination in housing, several practices continue to distort and divide housing markets by race. These practices prevent black purchasers from competing for much of the available supply of housing within their economic means, and they deny black homeowners access to a wider market for potential sales.

One such practice is “steering.” Steering refers to a variety of polite practices that hamper access to housing. These include false or misleading statements about the availability of housing, omissions in discussions of financing available and the desirability of particular neighborhoods, and office customs that limit the number and location of houses shown to potential black purchasers. The clearest and most effective steering technique is to show potential black purchasers houses only in certain areas, typically areas that are either already predominantly black or are in transition to such a state. Likewise, whites are steered away from minority or integrated areas, even if they have indicated no preference for racial exclusivity or have actually expressed interest in integrated neighborhoods.

Until the early 1950s, the National Association of Real Estate Boards (now the National Association of Realtors)—the principal trade organization of real estate brokers—mandated steering in its code of ethics. Unlike more blatant forms of discrimination, steering is widespread still, and it is generally held responsible for the current high level and unique pattern of segregation.

Antitrust Laws and Practices

The American economy is founded on the idea of free competition in the marketplace. We have laws prohibiting behavior that interferes with such competition and causes economic injury. Antitrust laws forbid agreements that “operate to deny consumers the opportunity to choose among alternative offers.” The Sherman Act, in particular, bars agreements and concerted practices that unreasonably restrain competition for goods and services.

If real estate brokers steer blacks and whites to different geographic areas, they effectively limit the ability of these two groups to compete for the same housing, and they deny home sellers access to all buyers. Steering thus divides the market by allocating customers to different areas on the basis of race. If this allocation results from an express or tacit agreement, then the practice falls within the scope of the Sherman Act.

Since steering was for years the result of a formally adopted code of ethics, it is highly unlikely that it occurs today only because of the unilateral and independent decisions of individual brokers. However, proving the existence of an *agreement* to steer is certain to be a difficult part of applying antitrust law to housing discrimination.

One can demonstrate separate instances of steering easily enough. In the classic case, one sends testers matched for all demographic variables except race to the same real estate office and notes any differences between the homes and neighborhoods shown to black and white testers (see cover).

(Continued on page 4)

... Housing Bias

(Continued from page 3)

If this is done for a number of brokers and there is a common pattern of steering, then such documentation suggests an agreement among the brokers who steer. But it may not be sufficient to prove an agreement. Courts might require additional evidence such as testimony from brokers who refused to steer and were disciplined by the group, or multilisting services structured to facilitate steering.

The classic purpose of dividing a unified market is to restrict the choices available to each market segment and thus raise prices to each. Considerable evidence suggests that in some markets white purchasers pay a premium for racial exclusivity. Moreover, in periods of high black demand, steering may also inflate prices blacks must pay by restricting the available supply. In times of stable or declining demand, the steering of whites away from minority or integrated areas may reduce demand and appreciation in such areas and concentrate it in areas that are exclusively white.

Whether steering operates to inflate prices blacks must pay for property or to reduce the demand for and value of property they already own probably depends on the life cycle of the neighborhood and metropolitan area involved. In any case, blacks have been damaged and, therefore, can bring suit under the antitrust laws for three times the amount of economic injury. A class action suit by a group of blacks could threaten to impose such enormous penalties that market practices might well change. For example, a class of 1,000 homeowners, each alleging \$10,000 damages, would have an aggregate claim of \$30 million.

Early Efforts

Several efforts have been made in the past to use the Sherman Act and other antitrust statutes to combat racial discrimination in housing. In a 1961 decision, *Kates v. Lefkowitz*, a New York state court recognized that agreement among apartment owners to refuse to rent on racial grounds would violate a state antitrust statute modeled on the Sherman Act, but the court disposed of the suit on other grounds. In a 1946 suit, *U.S. v. Mortgage Conference of New York*, the Department of Justice invoked the Sherman Act to attack an agreement among 39 New York lending institutions to refuse to lend money to persons owning property in minority areas. This suit was terminated before trial by a consent decree that dissolved the organization formed to implement the agreement.

In the mid-1960s, prior to passage of the Fair Housing Act, the law firm of Congressman John Conyers brought a Sherman Act claim against a Detroit multilisting service on behalf of excluded black brokers in *Cotillion Club, Inc. v. Detroit Real Estate Board*. The court dismissed the complaint for lack of jurisdiction. More recent Supreme Court decisions, however, have ruled that the practices of real estate brokers have sufficient connection to interstate commerce to sustain federal jurisdiction in Sherman Act cases. A few years after *Cotillion*, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund

brought a Sherman Act claim in *Bratcher v. Akron Area Board of Realtors*. On appeal, the Sixth Circuit reversed the trial court's dismissal for lack of jurisdiction, but the case was allowed to die, perhaps because of passage of the Fair Housing Act the following year.

Despite the promise of these early efforts, no subsequent cases have occurred in which racially discriminatory practices were challenged as violations of antitrust law. The high expectations raised by the Fair Housing Act have probably played a major role in obscuring this approach.

A parallel lapse appears in the legal literature. Some three decades ago, two articles appeared in law reviews discussing the possible application of the Sherman Act to housing segregation. The dominant market force at that time was the absolute refusal of property owners to sell to minorities outside minority areas. These articles briefly examined the legality of this "concerted refusal to deal." Since then, nothing of significance has appeared, and the practice the earlier articles highlighted has been superseded by the more subtle and invidious device of steering, which presents a separate and more complex set of legal issues.

An Antitrust Remedy

Now that the Fair Housing Act has proven inadequate and Congress seems unwilling to mend its inadequacies, the antitrust approach is worth reconsidering. As a remedy it has a number of appealing features.

If proof of economic injury can be established and attributed to violations of antitrust statutes, huge sums can be recovered, since the victim is automatically awarded three times the actual loss suffered. Under the Fair Housing Act, the largest recovery in the first ten years of the statute was \$150,000, divided among 315 people, and most successful suits recovered only a few thousand dollars. Courts hearing antitrust cases do not shy from imposing enormous penalties. AT&T is currently appealing a damage award of \$1.8 billion in one case, and in another case against it, the Supreme Court let stand an award of \$276.7 million plus \$65 million in interest.

In the antitrust field, even out of court settlements can be very large. In two recent cases settled before trial, defendants established settlement funds of \$208 million and \$75 million.

Another key attribute of antitrust suits is the award of generous attorneys' fees, intended to encourage private enforcement of these laws. The Fair Housing Act allows attorneys' fee awards only if the plaintiff is unable to pay. A survey over the first ten years of that Act found an average award of just under \$2,000. In a recent antitrust case that never even reached trial, the court denied 75 percent of the plaintiff's fee request, citing duplication of effort and inefficiencies, and still awarded \$5.6 million in fees. The original request had been for \$21 million.

A further advantage of an antitrust claim is the longer statute of limitations—four years, as op-

(Continued on page 8)

Industrial Policy and the Concerns of Minorities

by William J. Wilson

(On January 25, Dr. Wilson, Lucy Flower Professor of Urban Sociology at the University of Chicago, testified before the House Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization, chaired by Congressman John LaFalce, D-NY. Appearing on behalf of the Joint Center, Professor Wilson discussed the impact of industrial policy on the unique economic problems of minorities. This article is excerpted from his testimony.)

Many of the problems plaguing American minorities cannot be solved solely by race-specific programs, however important such programs have been and continue to be in addressing the effects of racial discrimination. Current forms of racial discrimination do help to perpetuate economic dislocations in the minority community, but these problems have been exacerbated in recent years by structural shifts in the American economy, shifts that ostensibly have little or no connection with race but that strongly affect the lives of the poor and working class segments of the minority population. In short, the inferior economic status of minorities requires solutions that not only attack discrimination but also confront the broader issues of American economic organization.

The crucial point is that our advanced industrial economy is not organized to provide jobs at a decent wage level for everyone willing and able to work. The low-income minority community is disadvantaged not simply by cyclical economic stagnation but by profound structural economic changes. The widely heralded shift from goods-producing to service-producing industries is polarizing the labor market into high-wage and low-wage sectors. Technological innovations in industry are affecting the numbers and types of jobs available. Manufacturing industries are relocating out of the central city to the suburbs, to other parts of the country, and even to foreign countries. While these changes have adversely affected segments of the poor and working classes in general, they have been especially devastating for blacks and other minorities because these groups are concentrated in central cities and in industries that have been hardest hit by economic dislocations.

Therefore, the current debate over industrial policy is especially timely and important for the minority community.

There are three principal reasons why the minority leadership is beginning to pay special attention to and actively participate in this debate. First, the present arrangement of the economy has placed large segments of the minority population at a competitive disadvantage. Second, the fate of anti-discrimination programs to enhance minority employment opportunities is closely related to the state of the economy. And third, minority interests ought to be represented and promoted if particular industrial policy proposals ultimately are adopted as national policy. I would like to elaborate briefly on each of these points.

The Consequences of Recent Economic Shifts

Minorities have disproportionately suffered from the effects of industrial changes, because they are heavily concentrated in industries with the largest number of layoffs due to economic cutbacks, plant closings, and the relocations of firms to cheaper labor sites and to the suburbs.

A recent study by the Illinois Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights presents an instructive example. Among the 2,380 firms in their statewide sample that left the central cities and relocated in the suburbs between 1975 and 1978, black employment decreased by 24.3 percent. By comparison, white employment in the same firms dropped by only 9.8 percent. This study also found that although minorities were 14.1 percent of the statewide workforce between 1975 and 1978, they were 20 percent of the formerly employed workers in the firms that shut down. Similarly, it has been estimated that 80 percent of the 1,700 workers laid off when Atari, Inc. moved production from California to Taiwan were Hispanic and Asian. And a recent study on the effects of deindustrialization on the national labor force found that blacks are disproportionately concentrated in industries that have "borne the brunt of recent" plant closings, such as the automobile, rubber, and steel industries.

Moreover, industries that lost the most jobs to foreign imports from 1964 to 1975 had an average minority work force of 11.5 percent, compared to one of 7.4 percent in industries that gained jobs through exporting.

Finally, the detrimental effects of the decline in central cities' industries that employ a substantial number of young workers were concentrated among black males.

Thus, minorities have been particularly burdened by the structural economic changes of the past two decades. This is seen most dramatically in our largest central cities. During the 1970s, Chicago lost more than 200,000 jobs, mostly in manufacturing, where many inner-city minorities have traditionally found employment. New York City lost 600,000 jobs during the same period, even as the number of white-collar, professional, managerial, and clerical jobs increased in Manhattan. Today, the nation's cities are being transformed into "centers of administration, information exchange, and service provision." Finding a decent paying job now requires more than a willing spirit and a strong back.

Roughly 60 percent of the unemployed blacks in the United States reside within the central cities. Their situation, already more difficult than that of any other major ethnic group in the country, continues to worsen. Not only are there more blacks without jobs every year, but many, especially young males, are dropping out of the labor force entirely. The percentage of blacks who were in the labor force fell from 45.6 in 1960 to 30.8 in 1977 for those aged 16-17, from 71.2 to 57.8 for those aged 18-19, and from 90.4 to 78.2 for those aged 20-24. During

(Continued on page 6)

Industrial Policy . . .

(Continued from page 5)

the same period, the proportion of white youths in the labor force actually *increased*.

More and more black youths, including many who are no longer in school, are obtaining no job experience at all. The proportion of black teenage males who have *never* held a job increased from 32.7 to 52.8 percent between 1966 and 1977: for black males under 24, the percentage grew from 9.9 to 23.3 percent. Research shows, not surprisingly, that joblessness during youth has a harmful impact on one's future success in the job market.

The State of the Economy and Antidiscrimination Programs

Another reason why minorities have a special interest in the industrial policy debate is that the impact of antibias programs to enhance minority jobs tends to be greater in a tight labor market.

In a tight labor market, job vacancies are numerous, unemployment is of short duration, and wages are higher. Moreover, the labor force becomes larger because increased job opportunities not only reduce unemployment but also draw into the labor force those workers who, in periods when the labor market is slack, respond to fading job prospects by dropping out of the labor force altogether. Thus, in a tight labor market the status of minority workers improves because unemployment is reduced, wages are higher, and better jobs are available.

Affirmative action (and other antibias programs) are more successful in tight labor markets than in slack ones. Not only are there sufficient positions for qualified workers, but also employers faced with a labor shortage are not as resistant to affirmative action pressures. Furthermore, in a favorable economic climate, those who support affirmative action are encouraged to push such programs because they perceive greater chances for success. Finally, there is less opposition to affirmative action from dominant group employees when there are sufficient jobs available, because they are less likely to view the encroachment of minorities as a threat to their own employment.

In a slack labor market, on the other hand, employers tend to be more selective in recruiting and in promoting; they can afford to demand more in the way of experience, skill, and education than a job actually requires. Facing a labor surplus, they are more resistant to affirmative action pressures. And, the longer the labor market is slack, the less pressure they receive from supporters of affirmative action, who become increasingly discouraged in the face of shrinking resources. The situation is exacerbated by increasing hostility to affirmative action by dominant group workers. Especially when quotas are imposed under conditions of economic retrenchment, minority competition means that non-minority workers lose jobs.

In short, the success of affirmative action and other antidiscrimination programs is in no small measure related to the state of the economy.

Industrial Policy and Minority Interests

The leading proponents of industrial policy have not emphasized the unique problems the changing economy poses for the minority community. Industrial policy is viewed as a universal program, designed to benefit all segments of society, and the problems of a particular group will supposedly be resolved without special attention. But as the current recovery has made clear, rising tides do not necessarily lift all boats. And although there is general agreement among industrial policy advocates that our major industries ought to be made internationally competitive and that economic growth ought to be restored, the debate over specific steps to achieve a robust economy reflects different group interests and concerns. For example, some may emphasize the need for huge new capital investments to stimulate economic growth, while others may stress the need for legislation on plant closings to minimize the adverse effects of capital mobility.

In the final analysis, the political fate of industrial policy will depend upon the degree of consensus and compromise achieved among diverse groups. As one of these groups, black Americans are entering the debate cognizant of and influenced by the knowledge that a majority of black workers hold blue collar jobs, a disproportionate number are concentrated in the low wage sector of the economy, and a significant percentage work in industries that have registered job losses due to plant closings, technological innovations, and capital mobility. What blacks will consider in weighing industrial policy proposals is the relative impact of proposed strategies on labor markets in different regions of the country; the type, variety, and volume of jobs to be generated; the extent to which residents in low-income neighborhoods will have access to these jobs; the quality of these jobs in terms of stability and wages; the extent to which proposed strategies enhance the employment opportunities of both new entrants into the labor market and the currently unemployed; and whether the benefits from economic development and employment provide reasonable returns on public investment.

Indeed, these issues have already been underlined by black thinkers in recent conferences organized by the Joint Center for Political Studies. In two of these conferences, thirty prominent black scholars and citizens met in Tarrytown, New York, to explore the array of problems, including economic ones, facing black Americans in the last two decades of the twentieth century. The Tarrytown meetings produced a statement outlining *A Policy Framework for Racial Justice*. In a third conference, eight representatives from the Tarrytown group met with members of the National Black Leadership Forum to refine the statement. During this meeting, the issue of blacks and industrial policy was explored, and Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center, was asked to help organize at least two conferences on the specific issue of minority economic opportunity and industrial policy, and invite some of the leading proponents of industrial policy to attend.

(Continued on page 8)

Telescope

Three New JCPS Publications

In February, the Joint Center released three important new publications.

The *JCPS Congressional District Fact Book* is a crucial reference handbook for anyone involved in national registration and get-out-the-vote efforts, political—or nonpolitical—fundraising, or locating markets and constituencies. It provides demographic and political data on each state and the new (post-1980) congressional districts, arranged in tables for easy reference and quick comparisons. Demographic data were compiled from U.S. Census Bureau publications; voting and election data, from the *Congressional Quarterly* and Federal Election Commission publications. Included in the *Fact Book* are

- the percentage of blacks and Hispanics in the voting-age population;
- the percentage of blue-collar workers in the labor force;
- the percentage of the vote received by Reagan, Carter, and Anderson, and by the incumbent member of Congress in the last election;
- the amounts of money spent in the 1982 congressional campaign by Republicans and Democrats;
- and much more.

Highlight tables cover many additional indicators as well: white ethnic populations, women in the labor force, college student and armed forces populations, and others. They provide a fascinating profile of America's basic political units.

The *Fact Book* was edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, a research associate at the Joint Center.

The second publication is *How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act*, third edition, by Barbara Y. Phillips.

The first two editions of the manual were published after the initial passage of the Act in 1965 and after the extension in 1975, respectively. In June 1982, after a two-year battle, the U.S. Congress extended Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act for 25 years. The conditions for local jurisdictions to "bail out" from coverage by Section 5 were thoroughly revised, and other sections of the Act were altered as well. In addition, Section 2 was amended to make it clear that in cases brought under this section, a violation of voting rights can be proved by showing discriminatory results. This new edition of *How to Use Section 5* covers these changes and lays out, in simple, straightforward language, the ways citizens can become involved in the procedures set up in the VRA to guard the electoral rights of minorities.

The manual is addressed to lay readers since, in many cases, Section 5 can be used without assistance from an attorney. While the manual is mainly concerned with the preclearance procedures, it also provides information about requesting federal examiners and observers, describes the language-assistance provisions of the Act, and discusses briefly the applications of Section 2 and the bail-out provisions in Section 4.

Barbara Y. Phillips, who prepared this edition for the Joint Center, is an attorney with long experience in civil rights law. During 1981-1982, she

was a litigator with the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

Both the *JCPS Congressional District Fact Book* (\$5.95) and *How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act* (\$4.95) are available from the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

The third publication, *The Impact of the Black Electorate* by Thomas E. Cavanagh, makes clear the potential power of the black vote in 1984 and beyond. Several factors have come together to place the black vote in the spotlight this year: the campaign of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the upsurge in the number of registered black voters and black elected officials over the past year, the mustering of several major voter registration campaigns, and the unprecedented low approval ratings that blacks give the incumbent president.

Cavanagh, research associate at the Joint Center, examines the black vote from several perspectives. After telling where potential black voters are most heavily concentrated, he discusses trends in black registration, turnout, and partisanship, and concludes with some observations on the importance of the black vote in the election of black officeholders, convention delegates, the Electoral College, and the Senate.

This volume is the first in a series of about six election reports the Joint Center will issue during 1984 and 1985; it is available to the public for \$4.95, prepaid. Readers may purchase the entire series for \$25.

HHS Panel to Study Gap in Black and White Health

Margaret M. Heckler, secretary of Health and Human Services, has announced the creation of a task force to study the health problems of blacks and other minorities in an attempt to close the gap between the death and disease rates of blacks and whites. In releasing the 1983 annual report of the nation's health in January, Heckler said the health of all Americans—including blacks—has improved substantially, but she acknowledged a continuing disparity in the rate of death and disease between the majority population and minorities.

This is particularly evident in the black infant mortality rate, which, according to Heckler, was nearly twice that of whites in 1981. And in 1982, the life expectancy of blacks—69.3 years—was still six years shorter than that of whites—75.1 years—even though the life expectancy of blacks had increased by more than 5 years since 1970.

Dr. Thomas Malone, deputy director of the National Institutes of Health, who is black, will head the task force.

Free Publications on Federal Campaign Finance

Arthur Andersen and Company, one of the nation's largest public accounting firms, has published three booklets on federal campaign finance—*Financial Management of Federal Election Campaigns*, *Contributing to Federal Election Campaigns*, and *PACs: Political Action Committees*. These are

(Continued on page 8)

... Housing Bias

(Continued from page 4)

posed to the six-month period applicable under the Fair Housing Act.

The Sherman Act is also a criminal statute, and the Justice Department can prosecute violations as felonies. The Act authorizes sentences of up to three years and fines up to \$1 million. While such prosecutions are unlikely in the near term, if this avenue can be established, they become a future threat.

And lastly, the antitrust laws are rooted in a fundamental economic purpose. They cannot be reinterpreted to accommodate civil rights policy shifts within a given administration, without risking drastic and unforeseen economic consequences outside the civil rights sphere.

To be sure, antitrust suits are costly, complex, and time consuming. To apply antitrust law in a new area such as housing discrimination will require the resolution of many issues that have only been touched on in this article. Victory on such a theory is neither guaranteed nor easy to achieve. But the power of the Sherman Act is too great a force to remain unharnessed in the struggle for civil rights.

... Telescope

(Continued from page 7)

brief, basic summaries, in question-and-answer format, of federal regulations regarding the financial side of campaigns and PACs. For free copies of these publications write Ann Lancaster, Arthur Andersen and Co., 1666 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; or call (202) 862-3121.

Industrial Policy ...

(Continued from page 6)

The first of these, cosponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund, was held in late October 1983 in New York and dealt with issues such as the implications of various industrial policies for minorities, and deindustrialization and the black community. Participants at this conference underscored the fact that the industrial policy debate has made very little reference to the place of minorities in the American economy. Since blacks have belatedly entered the debate over industrial policy, their interests and concerns have not been a topic of discussion among industrial policy advocates. And because there were few explicit signs that minorities were especially interested in the question of industrial policy, it did not occur to many policy makers to seek their counsel on particular proposals.

This will undoubtedly change. If the October conference in New York is any indication, minorities will be playing an increasingly active role in helping to develop and shape an industrial policy sensitive to the needs and problems of all workers in society.

In the 1970s, the focus of the civil rights movement shifted from the passage of antidiscrimination legislation to affirmative action programs in order to address the problems created by previous discrimination. In the closing decades of the twentieth century, the civil rights agenda will have to be expanded to help confront what could be the most difficult challenge of all: obstacles to minority economic advancement that flow directly from the organization of the American economy.

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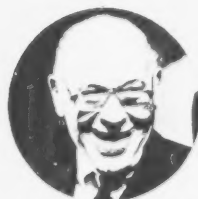
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FOURTH NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE



Black officials from 39 states; Washington, D.C.; St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; and Nova Scotia, Canada, came to Washington for two and a half days of exciting meetings with their colleagues and others. This issue of *Focus* summarizes the proceedings of the institute, including

- A roundup of the twenty institute seminars
- “Two Sleeping Giants: The Black Church and Black Politics,”
by Bishop John Hurst Adams
- “Turning Our Cities Around,” by Mayor W. Wilson Goode

Perspective

On behalf of the eight sponsors of last month's Fourth National Policy Institute, I would like to thank all those who contributed to the success of this highly acclaimed event.

The institute, by all accounts, was a smashing success. Perhaps the strongest evidence is the fervent requests by participants for future institutes. Some even called for yearly meetings—a prospect, I must say, that struck consternation into the minds of the sponsors.

If the FNPI (we fondly call it "Finipi") seemed like an effortless operation that could easily be run annually, it is a tribute to the efforts of many individuals and organizations. Jeanne Fox, conference coordinator; Alice Hall-Hayes, assistant conference coordinator; and Carolyn Barnett-Jones, conference secretary, deserve our gratitude and respect. They were heavily supported by other members of the Joint Center's staff throughout the planning stages and by a crew of volunteers, organized and supervised by Vernon Ricks of the Xerox Corporation, during the institute itself.

We also extend our thanks to the organizations that provided financial support for the institute:

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The sponsors took to heart the clear need for further policy institutes for black officials—at regular intervals, if not annually. As Newark Councilman Donald Tucker summed it up, "Another nine years must not slip by." To this end, the cosponsors agreed to create a permanent mechanism to facilitate communication among black elected and appointed officials at all levels of office.

As a first step, they established a national steering committee, consisting of the heads of the eight cosponsoring organizations, which will hold quarterly meetings to develop both institute programs and broader policy initiatives. The first such meeting will take place on April 18 in St. Louis. The steering committee will establish a regular schedule for national policy institutes and a structure for conducting the institutes.

We will, of course, take into account the many specific recommendations made by participants to increase the effectiveness of future meetings. Over thirty additional topics for seminars were suggested, including several "how to" sessions, workshops on women's issues, sessions devoted to particular local concerns, and many others. The possibility of regional institutes will be explored.

One comment from a participant is a fitting summary:

At no other occasion are so many persons drawn together who exercise power at the local level and have great impact on the lives of so many people. . . . The institute—with its assembly of mayors, city council members, county commissioners, school board members, state legislators, et al.—is loaded with potential for effective power."

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Fourth National Policy Institute

From February 29 to March 3, 1984, 725 participants attended the Fourth National Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. The institute was cosponsored by the Joint Center for Political Studies, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, the National Association of Black County Officials, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Caucus of Black School Board Members, and the National Conference of Black Mayors.

The schedule of activities was crowded, from the rousing general session (tape A) that opened the meeting; through two days of intense, instructive seminars, luncheons, and caucuses—with a little time off to enjoy a reception hosted by the mayor and city council of Washington—to the thoughtful and determined closing session (tape E; 2 tapes). But the participants were united by their seriousness of purpose and their dedication to finding new solutions to the long-standing problems of their communities. Attendance at all sessions was high; discussions were lively; and interest in continuing the process was expressed again and again.

Tuskegee Mayor Johnny Ford got the meeting rolling:

There is a train a-coming—the Black Mayors' Express. It's a train that pulled out of the station in 1887, in Edenville, Florida, where 27 black men and women made up their minds to organize a town and elected the first black mayor in this nation. The same train stopped in 1899 in Hobson City, Alabama, and a black mayor got on board the train. The train pulled into Tryon, Alabama, in 1963, and brother Clyde Foster got on board. Dick Hatcher got on in Gary, Indiana, in 1967. Carl Stokes got on in Cleveland. And when the train came through Tuskegee, it was moving so fast, and Tuskegee's so small, it didn't stop, it just slowed down and I hopped on board the train in 1972. . . . As president of the National Conference of Black Mayors, I hereby declare that each of you is an honorary citizen of all our cities across the country— and you don't have to pay any taxes."

Profile of Participants

Who was at the meeting beside the mayors? Black elected and appointed officials from every level of office, from 39 states and Washington, D.C.; St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; and Nova Scotia, Canada. Every state with a black population over 1 percent was represented; the largest delegations came from New York, New Jersey, and California. Municipal officials and school board members predominated in numbers. In addition, several hundred observers—scholars, corporate and labor representatives, members of public interest groups, federal officials—attended the meeting.

Participants demonstrated a broad range of interests: the two most popular seminar topics were "Strategies to Deal with the Crisis in the Black Family" and "Private Sector Resources," which drew standing-room-only crowds. But several themes emerged in many different contexts throughout the conference: the central importance of the black

church, the need for renewed emphasis on improving education for black youth and continuing education for adults, and the potential effectiveness of black political participation. Overall, the officials exuded a strong sense of confidence in the ability of the black community to find new approaches to its problems and the means to use them.

At the second general session (tape C), on Friday morning, black officials were urged to exercise their political clout with white elected officials. Congressman William Gray (D-PA) spoke of his amendment to the Export Administration Act, which has passed in the House of Representatives. His amendment imposes restrictions on U.S. economic involvement in South Africa. He said local pressure had been instrumental in securing House passage and asked officials to call their senators to demonstrate support for the amendment.

Women's Caucus

Also on Friday morning, women participating in the institute caucused over breakfast (tape F; 2 tapes). Some 140 women attended—mostly officeholders from every level of government. They were briefed on a variety of women's issues by Ivy Davis, subcommittee counsel to the House Committee on the Judiciary; Jeanne Fox, conference coordinator for the institute; Gracia Hillman, executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation; Barbara Hutchison, vice president of the American Federation of Government Employees; Brenda Watkins Noel, Director of Finance at the Joint Center for Political Studies; and C. Delores Tucker, former secretary of state of Pennsylvania. Erma Henderson, president of the Detroit City Council, chaired the meeting.

After enthusiastic discussion, the group agreed to a number of resolutions:

- The women vigorously supported voter registration efforts and expressed their conviction that "2 million more in '84" is an achievable goal.
- They called for wider representation of black women in both political parties, at all levels of government, and within national, state, and local membership organizations.
- They pledged to work toward doubling black representation in the U.S. Congress—with particular emphasis on the South.
- They recommended that ongoing commissions on women be set up at the state, city, and national levels.
- They called for greater recognition of black women leaders such as Dorothy Height and Margaret Bush Wilson.

Education was a major concern of the group. The women discussed ways to encourage closer cooperation between parents and schools to improve education.

Another major issue that surfaced was the relationship of black women to the feminist movement. Chairwoman Erma Henderson urged black women to join and participate in mainstream women's organizations: "White women need to be educated," she said, "to understand that they cannot go very far without black women. And black women must be educated to come out of the closet and join their white sisters." The group resolved to support the Equal Rights Amendment and to build greater under-

standing among black women of the importance to them of the ERA.

There was strong sentiment that a meeting such as this was long overdue and that a more active network needs to be established among black women officeholders.

Black officials also caucused by level of office, but those meetings were private, and notes and taping were not allowed. The heads of the organizations of black officials reported that the meetings were useful for information sharing and networking.

Seminars

Twenty seminars on thirteen topics composed the core of the institute. Each seminar was chaired by a black official with expertise in the subject; panelists were culled from academic, government, labor, and business circles as well as from among black officeholders. The sponsors hoped these diverse groups would stimulate creative thinking on shared problems.

Strategies to Deal with the Crisis in the Black Family

Session I (tape #1). *Chair:* Alan Wheat, U.S. House of Representatives, MO; *Panelists:* Douglas Glasgow, Vice President, National Urban League; Reverend Henry C. Gregory III, Shiloh Baptist Church, DC; Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Joyce Ladner, Professor, Howard University

Session II (tape #14). *Chair:* Lois M. DeBerry, State Representative, TN; *Panelists:* Reginald A. Eaves, County Commissioner, Fulton County, GA; Anna Jefferson, State Senator, NY; Eleanor Holmes Norton, Professor of Law, Georgetown University

The two seminars on the black family were among the best attended at the institute. Much of the discussion focused on preparing black youth for responsible adulthood. Panelists noted the importance of schools and the black church in socializing young blacks, and they urged these institutions to broaden their role. Anna Jefferson, for instance, suggested that schools provide day care before and after school hours for the children of working mothers.

Several panelists lamented the absence of attractive black role models on television. Consensus held that radio disc jockeys wield a great deal of influence over black teens and should, therefore, be enlisted in the effort to prepare their listeners for responsible adulthood. It was also agreed that the black community in general, including professionals, professional associations, and Greek letter organizations, must assume more responsibility for solving the problems plaguing the black family.

Members of the audience asked how they, as black elected officials, might implement the recommendations they had just heard. Panelists cautioned the officials not to be stymied by a lack of funds: "Many actions require only time, energy, and attention," said one. Such actions include facilitating contact between concerned black adults and black youth and encouraging parents in one's district to (1) educate their children about the responsibilities that go along with sexual activity and (2) to participate in community activities such as school board meetings.

Political Strategies I

Session I (tape #5). *Chair:* Kurt L. Schmoke, State's

Attorney for Baltimore City, MD; *Panelists:* Robert Garcia, U.S. House of Representatives, NY; Charlene Drew Jarvis, Councilwoman, DC; Melvin H. King, Director, Community Fellows Program, MIT

Session II (tape #9). *Chair:* Sandra M. Graham, State Representative and Councilwoman, Cambridge, MA; *Panelists:* Thomas E. Cavanagh, Research Associate, JCPS; Ivanhoe Donaldson, Vice President, Public Finance Group, E.F. Hutton; Harvey Gantt, Mayor, Charlotte, NC

Sessions on political strategy also highlighted the influence of the black church. In the political realm, the black church can be most effective in spurring potential black leaders to action, especially in areas where it is difficult to recruit black candidates.

Ivanhoe Donaldson, former deputy mayor of the District of Columbia, described the black community as an advocacy community, by which he meant that its function has often been to organize at the grassroots level and agitate for social and political change. The church can further political aims because it is well organized in individual neighborhoods.

A second topic discussed at length was the political significance of race. Again, Mr. Donaldson: "Jesse Jackson is being supported by black elected officials in majority black constituencies, but black officials in predominantly white locales seem reluctant to support him for fear of harming themselves politically."

Harvey Gantt and Mel King recommended the building of interracial coalitions and suggested that black candidates follow this tack in their campaigns. Ways of doing this include advocating management of a city's growth to make government more responsible to both black and white areas that had previously been overlooked; reserving city jobs for city residents to establish affirmative action for whites as well as blacks; and decentralizing city government to provide for better representation of both poor black and poor white areas.

Several other recommendations concerned the management of a campaign: (1) play to your strength: advertise through black-owned media, organize at the grass roots, and keep the black community unified to prevent its vote from being divided; (2) run an issue-oriented campaign; (3) raise money through direct mail, but make personal visits to wealthy, would-be supporters; and (4) when conducting polls, use interviewers whose race is the same as that of the people they will question to ensure the most accurate results.

Some members of the audience advocated the establishment of a nationwide black PAC.

Educational Policies and Strategies for Black Advancement

Session I (tape #10). *Chair:* Wilhelmina R. Delco, State Representative, TX; *Panelists:* Mary Berry, Commissioner, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Reverend David H. Eaton, President, School Board, DC; John W. Smith, Senior Assistant, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives

Session II (tape #17). *Chair:* Mary A. Lett, School Board President, East Orange, NJ; *Panelists:* Paul Cato, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Bakersfield, CA; Odessa M. Shannon, School Board Member,

(Continued on p. 9)

Two Sleeping Giants: The Black Church and Black Politics

by Bishop John Hurst Adams

(The author is chairman of the Congress of National Black Churches and a member of the board of governors of the Joint Center. This is an abridged version of Bishop Adam's remarks; his full speech is available on Tape B.)

Dr. Lawrence Jones, Dean of Howard University's Divinity School, and eminent scholar on the black church, refers to the black church as "a sleeping giant, a battery waiting to be hooked up to an engine powerful enough to call all of its energy."

Dr. Diane Pinderhughes, assistant professor of government at Dartmouth College, and adjunct fellow of the Joint Center for Political Studies, entitles an article written for the Urban League's *State of Black America, 1984* "The Black Vote—The Sleeping Giant."

We may be living in the era when these two giants are awakening to their potential and being charged by each other. The black church's direct or indirect access to a majority of black people, its well-trained leadership, its rich history of being on the frontier of social change, and its resource of church-person/politicians fit it to make a large contribution as blacks are increasingly reaching for answers to the question of justice and equality through the political process. The interest of blacks in politics has been fermenting and growing over the years since the Civil Rights movement and the passage of the Voting Rights Act. As the two giants awaken and converge around the goals of liberty and justice for all, at center stage are many church persons who are politicians, and politicians who are church persons—including one who now seeks the Democratic nomination for president of the United States.

Sleeping giant is an appropriate description of both the black church and the possibilities in politics for blacks. The positive and dramatic changes these

giants can effect in political, economic, and social life can happen with only modest increases in black voter registration and participation and an even more modest collective use of the economic and human resources of the black church.

There is, however, a potential for conflict between these giants as they awaken to their opportunity in the eighties. But conflict between church leaders and a new class of politicians over the first allegiance of the same constituency and over whose turf is whose must be avoided by conversation, cooperation, and attention to the larger agenda of justice for all.

Definitions

I want to enhance these remarks with a definition of the black church and a definition of politics.

The black church is the people of African descent who gather in the name of Jesus Christ in local, regional, and national fellowships to worship, organize, and work to move life on earth toward the spiritual and ethical ideal of the Kingdom of God, where love is the motive and justice tempered by mercy is the means.

These fellowships seek to: (1) continue the life and work of Jesus; (2) serve as agents of the liberating activity of God in the world; (3) develop collective institutional power on behalf of personhood through service and change; (4) carry the ethic of love and justice. The black church includes the historic and culturally created black denominations, sects, and movements as well as those black fellowships that are part of predominantly white denominations. The mission of the church is expressed through every type of human endeavor: from music and poetry to property management, from educational enterprises here in America to overseas work, from honoring traditions to organizing volunteers.

Politics is collective action to participate in and influence the governance over one's life. This collective action includes: (1) shaping public policy; (2) influencing the outcome of elections; (3) helping to define issues and the rules of governance.

The actions are performed through structures and functions that in many ways parallel those of the



Women's Caucus

Photos: Lisa Berg



Clarence Mitchell III, President, National Black Caucus of State Legislators; Eddie N. Williams, President, Joint Center for Political Studies; Mary Lett, Vice President, National Caucus of Black School Board Members; Webster J. Guillory, President, National Association of Black County Officials.



Seminar on Private Sector Resources

church: organizing a constituency is not unlike calling a congregation; education is a prime concern in both spheres; service is a basic function of each. Most important, both the black church and black political activism seek to *enlarge the possible*.

The Black Church in Politics

The black church represents the first sustained protest of, and alternative to, racism in America. It was the first institutional affirmation of the full worth and dignity of Americans of African descent. The savior became the liberator. "Heaven" and "the next world" became "out of slavery" and "in freedom's land." The spirituals are freedom song as well as religious witness.

The founding fathers and mothers of the black church were creative and exceptional theologians without benefit of theological education.

The black church initially addressed the issues of black sanity and survival. Excluded from the white society, the black church developed its own society. Programmed for self-hate and disunity, it developed its own community of love, cooperation, and self-respect. Prohibited from participation in the social, economic, and political life, it built an all-inclusive institution that provided for social life, economic necessities, and political participation. The black church became, for enslaved, oppressed, and segregated blacks, an alternative society that said yes to them when the white society said no.

The black church became political party, social club, strategy and planning meeting, a place to be

somebody, a community inside the community, the rebuilders of hope, home base for freedom movement, leadership development program, promoter of education and economic development, and the advocate of a philosophy of self-help.

Hiram Rhoades Revels, Jeremiah Haralson, Richard Harvey Cain, Adam Clayton Powell, Walter Fauntroy, William Gray, Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson. The names out of past and present personalize the long tradition of black church activists in politics. Beyond these are the thousands of black clergy and lay people who are deeply involved and greatly influential in local politics.

There are a number of reasons why the black church takes such a large role in politics. First, the black church has never really accepted the frequently pronounced dichotomies between the spiritual and material, between the temple and the spirit that occupies it, between the political and the theological, between the life of faith and life of the world, between church and state.

Second, the government alone has the resources and the authority to enable us to fulfill our mandate: to feed the hungry, house the homeless, heal the sick, and free the captives. Its powers must be used if we are to keep faith with the nature and purpose of the church. Without the continuing pressure of spiritual, moral force, government functions such as levying and spending taxes, enacting and enforcing laws, and even educating our children become instruments of bondage.

Third, we have tried many strategies and solutions



Julian C. Dixon, Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus



Revis O. Ortigue, Jr., Chairman, Judicial Council of the NBA



Donald Tucker, President, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials

other than political involvement with only limited results. Racism has not gone, and justice has not arrived. It is time to try political solutions to political problems and economic solutions to economic problems.

At the heart of the black church is the task of redemption. The theology of redemption applies to both individuals and institutions. Just as we respond to the needs and hopes of individuals, we must redeem the structures and systems that oppress and limit the opportunity for individuals to be fully and truly human. When political systems set priorities that upgrade destruction and death and downgrade development and life, the theology of redemption must speak and act. When the political system employs its powers to reverse and sabotage equal rights, civil rights, and human justice, the theology of redemption must speak and act. The system must be redeemed and made more humane and just and equitable.

Despite growing adversity and erosion in recent years, the black church remains the strongest and biggest institution black people have. It has the people; it has the organization; it has the talent; it has the resources; it has the history, and increasingly, it has the leadership. This means that the black church has an enormous obligation to black people: to exercise a redemptive influence on the political process which greatly determines their lives.

- Persons and institutions that oppress and deny personhood have to be changed or replaced;

- Policies that are unfair, unjust, and preferential must be redrafted to be fair, just, and equitable;

- Governments ought not to be selected by less than one-third of the eligible voters: that is no mandate;

- The vision of America that *should be* must be clearly stated, people must be organized to support it; and people who share it must be elected. We must proceed to make this the land of the free and the home of the brave.

The current president was elected by only 28 percent of the eligible voters in this nation, and he



Mayor Marion Barry, Washington, D.C.; Mayor Johnny L. Ford, Sr., President, National Conference of Black Mayors

won because of the folk who stayed home. The black church seeks to change this because more black people stayed home than any other group. A change of 20 percent in the turnout of black voters would have yielded different results, and the black church proposes that we together get that 20 or 25 percent additional black voters registered. Why not 2 million more in '84?

The black church is about using what is to perform its mission in the world—including the world of politics. We plan to use increased political participation to leverage a more just and equitable society. We will work to elect the best and create accountability to black folk. Trickle-down will become rise-up. We demand governance that is truly of *all* the people, by *all* the people, and for *all* the people.

The black church should be an institution and instrument of empowerment, liberation, and community for those ignored and excluded by historic institutions and instruments of power, freedom, and justice. In that way, we will succeed in enlarging the possible.

Turning Our Cities Around

by W. Wilson Goode

(The author was elected Philadelphia's first black mayor in November 1983. His full speech is available on Tape D.)

This is a critical time in our nation, a critical time for our cities. Many of our problems have been with us for a very long time—and have gone unresolved for a very, very long time.

Unemployment is still running high in our major cities. There are too few job training and retraining programs, and our public school systems yearly produce young people who are unable to function properly in our society. Our housing stock is deteriorating, day by day; there are very few efforts in place to reverse this deterioration; and heating and utility bills are far beyond the reach of many of the poor and unemployed in our cities. Funds for Medicare, Medicaid, and other health programs have been reduced, leaving many people unable to find health care.

Six Essential Steps

In order to confront these problems, there are six steps we ought to take—at least six. These steps will

help us begin to turn our urban areas around.

First, we must call upon those in Washington to do all they can to stimulate the economy: until we have an upsurge in our national economy, our local economies will not improve. To achieve this upsurge, federal officials must first bring down the national deficit. They must also find a way to provide incentives to our local communities so that we don't always compete, one with the other, for very limited resources. When that happens, no one wins.

As a second step toward reviving our urban areas, we must upgrade our human capital. I don't understand how anyone who runs this country can cut off money for the upgrading of our human capital. We need job training programs; we need to give tools to the young people in our cities, those who have lost their jobs as well as those who never had jobs. We must prepare them for the new economy of the future.

Third, we must maintain and upgrade our urban infrastructure—streets, bridges, transit systems, everything. With this will come hundreds of thousands of jobs, putting people back to work.

Improving our human service system is my fourth

point. We need a crisis management program in our cities, so that the old folks who are homeless and those who need food and clothing will be taken care of.

Fifth, we must promote public/private partnership. There is no way that we can solve the problems of our urban areas by ourselves. We must rely upon private foundations and the business community to help us solve these basic problems. For example, I recently told the private sector in Philadelphia that for every dollar they raised to employ a young person this coming summer, I would put up one public dollar, and they have agreed to provide enough money to employ 4,000 young people. After the city matches this amount and adds the available federal dollars, we plan to employ some 20,000 young people who never had jobs before.

The sixth step is to give our cities the tools they require—tools only the federal government can provide. We need urban action grants to catalyze key economic development projects. We need block grants to rebuild our housing. And we need entitlement programs to support the health and welfare of our citizens.

The Responsibility of Black Officials

Everyone here must understand what it takes to turn our cities around. It's easy to walk into office with a lot of emotionalism, with people believing that things will be better tomorrow simply because you're in office. But unless you know what you're doing, unless you manage your resources well, you will simply take people on an emotional ride to disappointment. And we should not do that.

Black officials have a unique opportunity to help reshape our cities, to help change the human condition for those millions of people who are unemployed and those who have lost their hope. In the last 15 years, we have increased our numbers dramatically—I'm sure you've heard all of these figures again and again. The 1970s: ten blacks in Congress; in 1984, 21. In 1970: 48 black mayors; in 1984, 253 black mayors.

But the question is, "has the election of black officials made a real difference for the people we represent?" We were not elected to adopt and adapt to the habits and attitudes of those who preceded us. We were not elected to preside over the old order.

Sometimes people ask me, "Why don't you do it the way it was done before?" I tell them—and I tell you—that's not why I ran for office. I have no interest in presiding over the old order of things in my city, none whatsoever.

We are in office to bring about a new order. We must learn to manage our resources more effectively,

more efficiently than ever before. We must pass laws at the state level, and in Congress, that will drastically change the condition of the people we serve.

Black people for 300 years have taken a quarter and stretched it to a dollar. If we can do that, we can certainly run a city to benefit those we serve. We have survived slavery and oppression: I grew up on a farm where my parents were sharecroppers, and I saw my father, who could not read or write, go out year in and year out, take nothing and make something out of it. If my daddy can do that, I can run Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

We have learned through years of struggle how to solve problems, how to turn situations around, how to take nothing and make something out of it. I submit to you that we have to use this experience, use the same things that our grandparents did, and our granduncles and grandaunts used, in order to turn our urban areas around. If we do this, our cities will be in good shape.

We always must remember that we are not just people who were elected to office—we are also leaders in our communities. And therefore, we must have a prime concern for the black family, for black youth, for black self-respect, and for the hope that we all need for the future.

We are a strong people, deeply rooted in the family. And our public policies must help to build strong families. Unless they do, we cannot build a strong society.

Remembering Our History

We must also remember how we got where we are. Before I ran for office, five black men ran before me. I would not be where I am if those black men had not paved the way for me. Too often we feel that we got here by ourselves, and we lose a sense of our history.

Because of this history, however, we now have an opportunity to bring new vision and spirit to our cities, to bring new hope to those who have long been without hope. We have an obligation and a responsibility to make things better for those who have put us in office. We cannot use the same old excuse—well, it's been 100 years, and nothing has changed. Much has changed, and if our forefathers and foremothers could change things for us, we should not expect any less of ourselves.

These jobs are very difficult. We need help and support in all of our cities and in all of our state houses around this country. We must understand that all of us are tied together—brothers and sisters—because we are indeed trying to achieve the same goals and same purposes: we're trying to make life better for the people we have been elected to serve.



(Continued from p. 4)

Montgomery County, MD; Kenneth S. Tollett, Director, The Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, Howard University

Politics also figured into this seminar. The panelists agreed that problems in the nation's schools are traceable to the policies of the current administration. Mary Berry explicitly blamed the administration's failures in other areas such as employment and family assistance. Mary Lett encouraged officials to work toward improving the relationship between parents and teachers.

Wilhelmina Delco noted that the federal government is currently reducing its role in education and that this requires redoubled efforts by volunteers from black churches, professional groups, and Greek letter organizations to aid local schools.

These volunteers, along with other influential blacks, should press local corporations for contributions to improve neighborhood schools. Private industry seems willing to lend such support, said Kenneth Tollett, but nothing will happen without community pressure.

School desegregation was discussed, and a number of speakers conceded that voluntary desegregation will be used more widely in the near term. Voluntary plans alone, however, are considered insufficient to guarantee a quality education for all students. To bolster such programs, panelists called for strong administrators, increased teachers' salaries, merit pay, self-imposed achievement requirements within individual schools, and greater discipline. John W. Smith cited a research report—*Search for Effective Schools*, by Edmonds and Frederiksen—indicating that these factors can indeed improve a school's effectiveness.

Impact of U.S. Trade Policy on Black Economic Development (tape #7)

Chair: Robert C. Farrell, Councilman, Los Angeles, CA; *Panelists:* Colbert King, Senior Vice President, Riggs National Bank; Bruce Llewellyn, Coca Cola Bottling Plant of Philadelphia; Richard McElheney, Assistant Secretary for Trade Development, U.S. Department of Commerce; Leonard H. Robinson, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State

The group agreed that blacks are minimally involved in international trade, although speakers cited different reasons. Among them: (1) available opportunities have simply not attracted many black entrepreneurs; (2) blacks generally lack the prerequisite business experience as owners and manufacturers within the U.S. economy; and (3) blacks have been falsely persuaded that they cannot do business profitably overseas.

How can black elected officials facilitate black involvement in international trade? Make sure that schools turn out well-educated black youth who can master the necessary entrepreneurial skills; persuade business schools to train more black entrepreneurs; and provide some assistance to fledgling black businesses so they don't have to compete directly with the GM's of the world. According to the panelists, education—of black entrepreneurs and students—will significantly further black interests in international business.

The Environment: State and Local Concerns (tape #20)

Chair: Larry Young, State Representative, MD; *Panelists:* George Coling, Director, Urban Environment Conference; Charles J. Harrison, Jr., State Representative, MI; Sue Lerner, Director of Corporate Planning, Edison Electric Institute

Blacks are burdened disproportionately by environmental problems because they are more likely to hold industrial jobs where chemical processing or manufacturing poses health risks, according to the panelists in this seminar. The problem is exacerbated by blacks' concentration in urban areas, often in the proximity of hazardous waste dumps or polluting factories.

George Coling documented several cases in which environmental pollutants posed serious dangers to local, largely black, populations, including contamination of fish commonly used for food with DDT and PCBs and exposure of whole communities to radioactive wastes and pesticides. Coling also noted that funds to train blacks as toxic substance control specialists have been cut by nearly 88 percent in recent years, eliminating both jobs and the means to protect black communities from these hazards.

As a result, suggested Charles Harrison, blacks must become more involved in the management of natural resources and in efforts to preserve and protect the environment. He praised a novel insurance program currently being developed in Michigan. Intended to spare taxpayers the cost of hazardous waste clean-ups, this program requires contributions from local industries to a fund that will be used to pay for any such clean-ups.

Sue Lerner advocated the use of alternative energy sources to overcome certain environmental problems. For example, she said, popular use of electric cars would markedly reduce the amount of lead in the atmosphere—most of which comes from the exhaust of gasoline-powered automobiles.

The Voting Rights Act (tape #8)

Chair: Henry Kirksey, State Senator, MS; *Panelists:* Armand Derfner, Voting Rights Consultant, JCPS; Lani Guinier, Assistant Counselor, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Frank Parker, Director, Voting Rights Project, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

The speakers explored barriers to registration and political empowerment. One barrier to full political participation is electoral systems, particularly at-large elections, that dilute minority electoral strength. Single-member districts offer black candidates a better chance of being elected, because even when a jurisdiction is majority white, certain areas within that jurisdiction are likely to be majority black. But it turns out that the greatest barriers to full participation may not be subtle at all: barriers to registration include unnecessarily complicated registration forms, out-of-the-way registrars, and registrars who are open only at odd or inconvenient hours. To eliminate these barriers, the panelists explained, blacks must organize politically, familiarize themselves with the Voting Rights Act, lobby for changes in local procedures, and assist disabled persons who wish to

register. Such barriers, argued Lani Guinier, are not peculiar to the South; "there are problems all over the country," she said.

Private Sector Resources (tape #4)

Chair: Ernest N. Morial, Mayor, New Orleans; **Panelists:** James C. Allison, Corporate Affirmative Action Coordinator, Gilbane Building Company; Kent B. Amos, Director, Corporate Urban Affairs, Xerox Corporation; Sanford Cloud, Jr., Consultant, Aetna Life and Casualty; Frederick M. Stevens, Senior Vice President, K Mart Corporation

This session was especially well attended, demonstrating black officials' commitment to work with the private sector to improve conditions in their districts. The panelists looked at three kinds of public/private sector interactions: government contracting with private industry, corporate services to local governments, and government assistance to local small businesses.

James C. Allison encouraged black officials to master the intricacies of the construction business so they can structure the bidding process to yield the greatest good for their city or locality. Officials should consider applicants' record in hiring and subcontracting to minorities and spell out exactly what a company must do to win a contract.

Kent Amos stressed the three "R's" of public/private partnerships: research, relationship, and return. Research into a company's activities may inform elected officials of other services available from the firm; maintenance of a strong relationship with the private sector will enable officeholders to better serve their constituents; and both partners will want to know what return they can expect as a result of their alliance.

Frederick Stevens suggested that black officials encourage small businesses within their districts to seek out opportunities for supplying goods and services to larger firms in the private sector, thereby bringing both jobs and additional tax revenues into the community. He then detailed a K-mart program intended to assist minority manufacturers of consumer goods who wish to supply their products to K-mart.

Strategies in Voter Mobilization

Session I (tape #13). **Chair:** Julia Carson, State Senator, IN; **Panelists:** Antonio Harrison, Deputy Chairman for Political Participation, DNC; Ronald McDuffie, Black Field Coordinator, RNC; Geraldine Thompson, Executive Director, Voter Education Project

Session II (tape #18). **Chair:** Representative Walter E. Fauntroy; **Panelists:** Gracia Hillman, Executive Director, National Coalition on Black Voter Participation; Joseph Madison, Director, NAACP Voter Education Department; William Vasquez, former Director of the Mayor's Office of Latino Affairs.

Registration and participation remain extremely important issues for blacks—representatives of both the Democratic and Republican National Committees encouraged black officials to mount registration drives in their districts. Panelists at the second session explained the goals and methods of three of the more prominent voter registration drives now under way.

The strategy of the NAACP involves the use of

"block captains," who are responsible for registering, educating, and turning out the black voters on individual city blocks. NAACP has also targeted 18- to 24-year-old blacks for registration and has persuaded many high school principals to become deputy registrars so that high school seniors can be signed up before they graduate.

The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation emphasizes the formation of coalitions on the local level to learn the election laws and determine how best to use them to register new black voters. Through its "Operation Big Vote," this group works with civic organizations to train registrars and to register, educate, and turn out black voters.

The Southwest Voter Education Project, which seeks to increase the number of registered Hispanic voters, has also targeted 18- to 24-year-olds in its voter registration drives. SVEP is working to obtain wider media coverage of the potential influence of the Hispanic vote, in hopes that this will bring about greater participation. The group is also seeking to ease the voting process for non-English-speaking citizens by having ballots and instructions printed in Spanish in certain jurisdictions.

Creative Financing of Public Services (tape #19)

Chair: John H. Stroger, Jr., County Commissioner, Cook County, IL; **Panelists:** Travers Bell, Chairman of the Board, Daniels & Bell, New York, NY; Maynard H. Jackson, Partner, Chapman & Cutler, Atlanta, GA; Samuel P. Katz, President, Public Financial Management, Inc., Philadelphia, PA; Raymond McClendon, Vice President, Community Development, Federal National Mortgage Association

Increased political participation, it turns out, may also play a role in obtaining new sources of financing for public services.

Maynard H. Jackson, former mayor of Atlanta, explained that tax-exempt bonds may be used to finance various city projects, and Raymond McClendon said that the Federal National Mortgage Association offers some specific redevelopment programs that might interest black officials. Both speakers made clear the need for political savvy to take advantage of these alternatives.

For example, one official wanted to know whether there was any legislation mandating the use of minority law firms as bond council in certain municipal deals. No, he was told, and since local legislative bodies would be the ones to issue such mandates, black officials must learn to lobby these groups effectively.

Public Sector Resources I

Session I (tape #2). **Chair:** Ben F. Andrews, Councilman, Hartford, CT; **Panelists:** John Lynch, Assistant Director, Office of Economic Adjustment, U.S. Department of Defense; Henry T. Wilfong, Associate Administrator for Minority and Small Businesses, Small Business Administration

Session II (tape #16). **Chair:** Representative Parren J. Mitchell; **Panelists:** Rosslee Douglas, Director, Office of Minority Economic Impact, U.S. Department of Energy; Stephanie Lee-Miller, Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Federal agencies are an often overlooked source of advice and financing for public programs and

minority businesses. Speakers in the two seminars on Public Sector Resources identified several departments and agencies within the federal government that provide such assistance and described the way they operate.

The Office of Minority Economic Impact, an arm of the Department of Energy, has a specific mandate to assess continually the impact of federal energy regulations, procedures, and programs on minorities. This office also provides management and technical assistance to minority businesses and organizations in the energy field. What's more, the Department of Energy administers a Minority Bank Development Program and a loan program to provide up to 75 percent of the funds necessary to develop proposals to be submitted to the department. This program currently has \$1 million in unspent funds.

Each division within the Department of Health and Human Services has its own Office of Small Business, which helps channel grants to minority small businesses and purchases goods and services from these same firms. HUD and the Departments of Defense and Labor were also cited for similar efforts to aid minority small businesses.

Ben Andrews asserted that leveraging public money with private funding is the most effective financing tactic because a solid commitment from the private sector smooths the path to public dollars and because minorities should begin to do more of their business with the private sector, moving away from dependence on an ever-shrinking federal pot.

The Impact of Race in American Courts (tape #12)

Chair: George Crockett, Jr., U.S. House of Representatives, MI; *Panelists:* Derrick Bell, Dean, University of Oregon, School of Law; Judge Robert L. Carter, U.S. District Judge, NY; Lynn Walker, Program Officer, Ford Foundation

All panelists agreed that racism afflicts the criminal justice system at every stage from arrest to incarceration. Harsh treatment of blacks occurs most frequently when people within the system exercise discretion: policemen deciding whether to arrest; prosecutors deciding what charges to bring, what terms to offer in a plea bargain, or whether to exclude blacks from juries; judges in sentencing; and parole boards in setting dates of release.

Yet this racism is rarely explicit; most often it is implicit and institutional. Many blacks are disadvantaged by their lack of education and money. Furthermore, consensus among the panelists held that the criminal justice system cannot be rid of racism until the society is rid of racism and that, therefore, other peripheral reforms are doomed to failure. Blacks, they said, must gain substantial influence within the government before racial bias in discretionary decisions can be eliminated.

"What can be done now to sensitize judges to racism?" asked one black official. "Put more black judges on the bench; this has some effect." Racial sensitivity training at judicial conferences was also suggested.

Several people in the audience advocated enlisting community service organizations to divert troubled youth from the labyrinthine court system.

Building and Maintaining Coalitions (tape #3)

Chair: Joanne M. Collins, Councilwoman, Kansas City, MO; *Panelists:* Dolly Adams, National President, LINKS, Inc.; Debra DeLee, Manager, Political Affairs Division, National Education Association; Harry Pachon, Executive Director, National Association of Local Elected Officials

Coalitions that transcend racial, gender, and ethnic lines must be founded on issues that appeal strongly to each of the coalition members. The coalition to extend the Voting Rights Act in 1982 emerged as

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the prime example of such a coalition: women's groups, many religious denominations, Hispanic and black organizations, organized labor, and corporations worked together effectively for many months—precisely because the issue was a concrete one of particular interest to each of the groups involved.

The competition for resources that perennially plagues disadvantaged minorities was overcome in this case and can be submerged in other coalitions around common goals, such as civil rights protection and economic advancement. Such coalitions multiply influence exponentially by uniting relatively powerless minorities into a powerful constituency.

Employment and Training in a Changing Economy

Session I (tape #6). *Chair:* Virgil Brown, County Commissioner, Cuyahoga County, OH; *Panelists:* Elton Jolly, Executive Director, Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc.; Marc Stepp, Vice President, United Auto Workers; David H. Swinton, Director, Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy

Session II (tape #11). *Chair:* Hilda Pemberton, Councilwoman, Prince George's County, MD; *Panelists:* Ernest Green, President, Green-Herman and Associates; Glen Loury, Professor of Economics and Afro-American Studies, Harvard University; William Lucy, International Secretary/Treasurer, AFSCME

Participants complained that the Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA), which replaced the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, gave the private sector greater authority in the administration of federally financed programs for local employment and training. In fact, a surprising consensus that emerged in this session was a positive reevaluation of CETA; it was praised for giving the public sector greater authority in grants administration and for its direct federal-local link (JTPA routes federal dollars for local programs through the state government).

Ernest Green advocated public service employment as a way to give people jobs, train them, and

provide necessary services all at the same time.

Education, too, received another shot in the arm. After observing that the education of black youth continues to lag that of whites, Glen Loury encouraged black officials to direct more attention and money toward education and to maintain a racial balance in schools. He also recommended the formulation of national policies on youth unemployment, including a subminimum wage and some means of providing young people with training and actual work experience.

Officials attending the seminar suggested using the military, community colleges, and land grant colleges to provide basic skills to the hard-core unemployed.

Institute Proposals

Although few resolutions were formally passed at the institute, various proposals were set forth for discussion at the closing general session. For example, there was much discussion of the need to establish a new dialogue between the black and Jewish communities to allay tensions between the two groups. And participants expressed strong interest in establishing a national task force to study the problems of the black family and similar interest in research on hunger in America.

On the urging of the black judges, the group censured the administration's record of appointment of black judges. Judge Revis Ortiqque pointed out, "This administration has appointed only three blacks to federal judgeships, and not one single black woman. That's disgraceful." They called on President Reagan to draw upon a list of names of black attorneys certified as qualified by the National Bar Association in order to increase the number of black judges. They stressed the importance of black judges as role models for youth as well as influential figures in their own right.

Participants' interest in these and other issues will be considered by members of the national steering committee as they discuss plans and programs for future institutes.

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Clarence Mitchell, Jr. and Benjamin Mays; An Appreciation

Each man proved that "One, on God's side, is a majority."



The People's Platform for 1984

The principal author of the *People's Platform* explains what it is, why it is needed, and what will be done with it.

Blacks on the Move: Trends in the 1980s

Blacks' trek to the suburbs continues apace, but their return to the South—first noted in the 1970s—may have been short-lived.

Perspective

Ironically, but not surprisingly for students of the black community, the major catalyst for the recent upsurge in black political participation has been the Reagan administration. Most blacks view its policies and actions as disastrous and threatening. This perception is reinforced by the unsettling effects of the nation's economic upheavals and by a national conservative mood that appears to be indifferent to civil rights.

This widespread perception of being victimized has intensified the phenomenon of *black consciousness* to an extent not seen since the 1960s.

Social psychologists describe black racial consciousness as a sense of shared hardship imposed by the white-dominated society through racial discrimination. One study describes the dynamics of racial consciousness in these words:

the idea that each individual is responsible for his or her own successes and failures in life . . . weighs particularly heavily on the poor and racial minorities at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy who have traditionally been shackled with guilt for their own poverty. . . . By drawing attention to their status as a deprived and oppressed group, black consciousness helps blacks to replace the more negative overtones of the Protestant work ethic with a "system-blame" ethic. . . . The result is a heightened sense of personal efficacy and an increased mistrust of the political system.

Rightly or wrongly, the Reagan administration is seen as the architect of the current hardships blacks face. To the extent that the administration makes vividly clear the gulf between the interests of blacks and the direction of "the system," it builds black consciousness—and this is what is manifest in the reawakening of black political activism.

This new political mood, then, confronts us with two critical factors, *efficacy* and *mistrust*.

A "sense of personal efficacy" is the most important determinant of voter participation among Americans. It can override the attitudinal handicaps that inhibit participation by low-income blacks who otherwise are the least likely to register and vote.

The importance of a sense of efficacy produces a self-perpetuating cycle: the more successful the black community is in getting political influence, the more black political participation should increase. There is evidence that the cycle has begun. Registration and turnout among blacks have been unusually high during the past several years, particularly in the campaigns of Harold Washington, Wilson Goode, and Jesse Jackson—candidates with a real chance of winning office or at least gaining substantial influence.

But the other side of the coin is increased *mistrust* of the political system.

Obviously, mistrust is not a healthy attitude, and it can turn the cycle in the opposite direction, reducing political participation and thus the political efficacy of the black community. Mechanisms that dilute the impact of the black vote increase mistrust of the system, as does evidence that the black vote is either taken for granted or written off.

Mistrust can be overcome by education, by involvement, but most of all, by hard evidence that the system, and those who run it, are responding seriously to the concerns of blacks and other minorities.

What all this means is that the current upsurge in black political participation is not a temporary phenomenon; it will have important and long-term implications for black political behavior. The black vote will not go away after the November elections, and it is none too early to start thinking about where we are going in the long run.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Mitchell and Mays: An Appreciation

by John Britton

(The author is director of public affairs for the University of the District of Columbia.)

The roll was called. In Baltimore, Clarence Mitchell, Jr. closed his eyes and, at age 73, made the ultimate transition. Grief struck former presidents, presidential candidates, senators, congressmembers, governors, state legislators, mayors, city councilmembers, educators, family, neighbors—just plain folks throughout the land. The “101st Senator” of the United States had served his final term. He left monuments: public policies and laws that have set men and women free in the Home of the Brave.

The trumpet sounded again. In Atlanta, Benjamin Elijah Mays, president of Morehouse College, answered and moved on. Morehouse men wept. A nation mourned. Death, a process that begins with the first breath of life, had claimed “Buck Benny” in his 89th year. Surviving him are his contributions, real American treasures: The lives he molded; the souls he touched.

Shared Blessings

Little in the public record suggests that Dr. Mays and Mr. Mitchell were confidants. Yet the elegance, style, and grace that characterized the life and work of both men would indicate that they shared the blessings of a single Force. Both men possessed uncommon intelligence, extraordinary courage, a disarming wit, and an uncompromising commitment to justice and fair play.

Their secret of success was their mastery of the art of communications. During his college years at Lincoln (PA) University, Clarence Mitchell anchored a university debating team that challenged the best and the brightest of Oxford—an unheard of feat for a black college in those days.

But it was as Washington director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and chief lobbyist for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights that Mr. Mitchell delivered his most effective speeches—to presidents in the Oval Office and to legislators in Congress. He frequently had the ear of the powerful, whispering to them the agenda of black America. Some balked. Others bowed to superior reasoning. The results, on balance, are impressive.

And one of the products of Mr. Mitchell's attention to legislative matters even involved Dr. Mays. Mr. Mitchell's first major victory came with passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 which, among other things, established the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Dr. Mays was slated to be named to the commission during the Kennedy administration. But the intransigence of Georgia's Democratic senators, Herman Talmadge and Richard Russell—both peeved at Mays' uncompromising stance against segregation—intimidated the White House and blocked the appointment.

Clarence Mitchell, Jr. compiled an enviable record of success in the face of powerful opposition from men who, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, inflamed the nation with talk of interposition and nullification. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is testimony to the durability of the Mitchell shoe leather. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 evidences the effect of Mitchell arm-twisting, aided by the uncommon interest of the

nation's chief executive. The Civil Rights Act of 1968, which established fair housing policy, is a monument to the Mitchell perseverance and determination.

Dr. Mays was equally adept at persuasion. He was a prolific writer, respected for his contributions to theology, his principal academic discipline. Moreover, he claimed the attention of the masses through a popular column published for years in America's black-owned newspapers.

But it was in person that he most frequently melted resistance to his ideas, alternately using a powerful intellect to appeal to reason and a fiery oratory to summon whatever morality and compassion his listeners might possess.

Such was his power of persuasion that many old Morehouse men can quote almost verbatim the inspirational sermons that the Rev. Dr. Mays delivered at chapel assemblies each week. Such was the power of these sermons that even today Morehouse men offer the logic learned from Mays to defend one or another of their commitments.

In his lifetime, Mr. Mitchell developed paths of direct access to power in the nation's capital. Dr. Mays' influence was a bit more indirect and his impact was a degree more subtle. He molded the minds of impressionable college students and sent them from the Atlanta campus to use well what he had taught them.

Morehouse men fanned across the nation, enrolling in graduate and professional schools, excelling, graduating, and then contributing significantly to a society that could no longer deny their energy and know-how. Martin Luther King, Jr., for one, entered Morehouse determined to pursue a career in law. The Mays philosophy swayed young King and, by his own admission, inspired him to continue a family tradition in the ministry.

Numerous examples of the Mays/Morehouse tradition live still through the life and works of those stirred by the man. What he, through them, has given a race and a nation is summed up nicely in a phrase turned by Morehouse graduate Lerone Bennett, Jr., who cited the “certain dark joy” that augments the strength of a people who have suffered disproportionately.

Working Together

Mitchell helped to change laws that kept black men and women in bondage and white men and women enslaved to a myth. Mays sent forth an army of black leaders capable of taking full advantage of the opportunities emerging from the public policies Mitchell advocated. In this sense, the two men worked together.

Both men also obeyed to the letter W. E. B. DuBois' assertion that every insult must be challenged on the spot; that black men and women must accept the moral imperative to struggle against an immoral system that supports racism. When Mitchell was pursuing a graduate degree at Atlanta University, he became known in the city for his vocal opposition to the Ku Klux Klan and for walking everywhere he chose to go because he refused to sit at the back of the bus.

Dr. Mays was equally well known for preaching to his students about the sin of abiding segregation

(Continued on page 3)

The People's Platform

by Francesta E. Farmer

(The author, former executive director of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, is a fellow at the John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University.)

The National Black Coalition for 1984, an ad hoc group of some 50 black leaders, scholars, and elected officials, has issued the *People's Platform*, a detailed statement of black objectives and strategies for the 1984 election year. Meeting in Atlanta in March 1983—eleven months before the first primary—the group decided that the development of a cohesive black perspective, and a test by which to evaluate all presidential candidates, was as important as traditional efforts to register and mobilize voters.

Everyone present was concerned that the "rightward drift" of politics in America, signaled by the Reagan victory in 1980, might push black issues even further off the political agenda during this critical election year. The group agreed to form an ad hoc coalition—the National Black Coalition for 1984—under the leadership of Dr. Joseph E. Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and to issue the *People's Platform* in cooperation with the National Black Leadership Roundtable, a coalition of over 300 black organizations, headed by Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy (D-DC). M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition, also played a major role in developing the *Platform*.

What the *People's Platform* Is

The *People's Platform* begins with a call for a "new realism, a new responsibility, a new politics, and a new dream." It reflects, the introduction says, "the awakening power of the black vote; our unyielding opposition to the negative economic, social, foreign, and military policies of the current administration... and our demand for change."

The recommendations fall into nine critical policy areas: the role of government; employment; the economy; minority business development; welfare and income security; education and training; civil rights; defense, foreign policy, and nuclear disarmament; and urban policy. In each of these nine sections, a statement of principle precedes an analysis of the effects federal policies have had on black people since President Reagan took office. Where appropriate, the *Platform* also explains the effects of these policies on the lives of citizens who are not black; clearly, what is happening in black communities will also happen elsewhere unless there is a fundamental reordering of national priorities.

Then the *Platform* outlines specific recommendations to remedy problems identified in the analyses. The National Black Coalition for 1984 is now collecting data on the costs and likely benefits of each recommendation that calls for federal expenditures; this task already has been completed for several key proposals within the *Platform* (for example, the Skills Development Corporation retraining initiative). Coalition members believe they can strengthen recommendations by demonstrating that they can be financed without increasing the enormous federal deficit and may, in fact, return much-needed revenues to the federal government.

Platform Highlights

The following are statements of principle and major recommendations from each section of the *Platform*:

The Role of Government. "The nation [must] commit itself anew to a reordering of national priorities that places human needs and investment in human capital ahead of development of... weapons of awesome destructive capability."

Recommendations in this section call for a restoration of federal budget expenditures on human needs—particularly the needs of the youngest, the oldest, and the poorest Americans—to FY '81 levels, adjusted for inflation. Other recommendations urge the creation of new health care programs; federal minimum benefit levels for AFDC; increases in child care subsidies; improvements in programs for child nutrition, food stamps, unemployment compensation, and older Americans; and a wholesale review of regulatory changes that unduly penalize the poor.

Employment. A "war on joblessness" is the only adequate response to the acute crisis of unemployment in the black community. For decades, black unemployment has been more than double that in the white community, both in good economic times and bad. In 1982, one out of every three black Americans was unemployed for all or part of the year, contributing in large measure to an increase in the poverty rate for blacks. At 35.6 percent, the black poverty rate is the highest of any racial or ethnic group in the country. Clearly, this is the greatest crisis facing our communities, and recent upheavals in "smokestack" industries can only lead to a worsening of this trend in the near future.

The *Platform* recommends the establishment of a \$20 billion Skills Development Corporation that would train persons living below the poverty line and place at least 300,000 of them each year in occupations where there are labor shortages. Additionally, "the government must assume the responsibility of becoming the employer of last resort by creating short-term, but useful, employment."

The Economy. Rejecting "Reaganomics" and its "trickle-down" theories, the *Platform* recommends coordinated economic planning. Such planning would include a new industrial policy that combines community revitalization, efforts to bolster declining but critical industrial sectors, and government encouragement of new technologies—all coordinated by a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Another component of this comprehensive economic plan would be "a more fair and rational tax system," including a 15 percent minimum corporate tax.

Minority Business Development. Minority businesses, including farms, are essential to the nation's economy. As such, they can play a major role in revitalizing local economies and in creating new jobs for black Americans. Yet current policies impede their growth and development. For black farmers, the crisis is particularly acute: it has been estimated that at present rates of decline, black farmers will virtually disappear by 1990.

The *Platform* recommends the adoption of measures such as targeted tax incentives to encourage the private sector to invest in and do business with

minority firms. A proposed "Minority-Majority Merger Program" would facilitate this collaboration. Other recommendations include an end to the forced removal of some minority businesses from the Small Business Administration's Section 8(a) program, which permits them to bid on specially set-aside government contracts, a 100-200 percent increase in federal loan support and procurement opportunities for all minority businesses, and stepped up support for black farmers.

Welfare and Income Security. "The current welfare system is outmoded and needs to be reformed." Urging extensive changes in the welfare system—principally AFDC—the *Platform* demands an end to the cycle of dependency and dissolution that the system currently imposes on black families. At the same time, the document categorically rejects "workfare" and other punitive aspects of current program requirements. Instead, it explains, the welfare system should emphasize training for meaningful employment.

Education and Training. All Americans are concerned about a loss of excellence in education. For black Americans, this loss has been compounded by the federal government's retreat from its role as guarantor of an equal and quality education for all.

The recommendations: more, not less, money must be spent—particularly on mathematics, science, and computer studies; black colleges, too, must be helped: perhaps through a quasi-public corporation capable of raising funds for black colleges and encouraging collaborative strategies for their growth and development; inner-city schools must be targeted for increased funds and support for bilingual and bicultural education and for efforts to employ and retrain chronically unemployed youth and adults.

Civil Rights. "Civil rights laws and guarantees must remain a critical national priority. We are alarmed by the erosion of vigorous federal enforcement of these laws..."

Recommendations in this area include: vigorous enforcement of existing civil rights laws; passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and the Economic Equity Act; a rational and fair immigration system that retains full due process and judicial review; enforcement of all provisions of the Voting Rights Act; and a commitment to meaningful affirmative action.

Defense, Foreign Policy, and Nuclear Disarmament. Current and projected levels of defense spending rob the nation of vital resources for investment in human capital and in genuine national development and skew our foreign policy so that it is more confrontational than in any recent peace-time era.

Current U.S. policies toward Central America are disastrous; military solutions cannot be substituted for serious attention to the more significant causes of unrest in this neighboring region—causes that are primarily economic, political, and social.

The *Platform* recommends major reductions in defense spending, particularly for destabilizing strategic and nuclear weapons that threaten world peace and raise the spectre of nuclear annihilation. In place of a foreign policy founded on east-west confrontation, it suggests a more progressive approach—a productive dialogue with countries of

the Third World about the problems they face. The *Platform* also urges an immediate repudiation of "constructive engagement" and other collaboration with the racist *apartheid* regime of South Africa.

These steps must be coupled with greater integration of the nation's foreign policy establishment. More minorities and women must be given key policy-making positions.

Urban Policy. Over 75 percent of all Americans live in urban areas. A disproportionate number of these Americans are minorities, poor, and poorly educated. Centers of commerce and culture, cities cannot be neglected as they have been in the past three years. We need a comprehensive urban policy.

Among other things, the federal government should end block grant distributions that penalize cities to benefit suburban areas, allocate revenue sharing funds to communities with demonstrated need, bolster infrastructure aid, and return housing production to levels that revitalized cities in the 1970s.

Use of the Platform

Completed in September 1983, the *People's Platform* has been sent to all declared presidential candidates with a request that they respond to its specific recommendations. The candidates' responses will be widely publicized to inform voters of the candidates' views.

So far, emphasis on most of the problems plaguing American blacks has been conspicuously absent from the campaign. The time has come to remedy this neglect. And, as the *Platform* notes:

because these issues are critical to many others, this platform statement—while embodying our hopes and aspirations—also can become the basis for a coalition effort to reorder national priorities; to meet the needs of all citizens; and to ensure that fairness, equality, and justice pervade our public policies...

Copies of the *People's Platform* can be ordered for \$3 from Ms. Lezli Baskerville at: 2041 Martin Luther King, Jr. Ave., S.E., Suite 311, Washington, D.C. 20020.

Mitchell and Mays (Continued from page 3)

when there was no need to. Travel between home and school was a necessity, Mays observed, and government laws failed to protect black Americans from segregation. But black people had the option of thwarting prejudice at movie theaters where owners regularly directed blacks to the balcony.

Neither of these giants rested on their laurels, even at retirement. Mitchell "retired" to the practice of law and to a seat on the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland System after he left the NAACP. Mays "retired" to the Atlanta Board of Education, on which he served first as a member, then as chairman during the difficult years when school desegregation continued to be a thorny issue. Only recently did he leave public life to begin another volume of memoirs.

The two giants fell in 1984. The impact of their lives and work will be felt always. For Clarence Mitchell, Jr. and Benjamin Mays each proved once again the truth of abolitionist Wendell Phillips' assertion that "One, on God's side, is a majority."

On Behalf of Black Families

by James L. Robinson

(The author is director of the Child Advocacy Program in the Department of Health and Human Services.)

Over the past three years, many people have become aware of the crisis condition of black families. One third of the black families in the United States live in poverty; more than 47 percent of black children under 18 live in poverty; and well over half of the black families living in poverty are headed by women, who are paid less than men overall. Conferences, workshops, and other forums focusing on these problems have raised the "black family issue" to a prominent place on the national agenda.

Which is not to say that much has been done about it. Given all that is known about the plight of these families, the time has come to set forth a clear and comprehensive agenda for improving the condition of black families.

Clearly, there is a role for government in resolving the crisis of the black family—a role that no other entity in the society, no matter how well-intentioned, can play. Most fundamentally, the federal government must create a healthy economic environment in which domestic industry can expand to provide work for all who want it. For four decades, the U.S. economy has failed to provide what black families need most for their economic health—jobs.

But attempts to resolve the problems must be as wide-ranging and varied as the causes of the problems. In this article, I will concentrate on initiatives to be undertaken by black organizations, institutions, and individuals; the black community has always been an important source of help for the black family.

A Unified Approach

Black organizations currently have many initiatives under way. But so far, there has been no central coordination of efforts, which could reduce duplication and overlap and maximize the return on investments of time, money, and energy. Furthermore, there is no national clearinghouse to disseminate information on concepts that work well in various sections of the country.

What is needed is a national program of support for black families, developed under the auspices of as many national black organizations and institutions as will lend their energy and support to the effort. This group should include black churches, colleges, fraternities, sororities, and political, social, professional, and civic organizations. Participating in this effort should not interfere with the activities for which these organizations are normally responsible.

For such a diverse group to form an effective coalition, differences among members must be put aside, and the coalition must emphasize collective effort in pursuit of a common goal—improving the chances of black families at risk.

The first step in such an undertaking should be the convening of a leadership meeting by a non-partisan, noncompetitive organization. Participants in this initial meeting would determine the scope of activities to be undertaken and approve a program

of action, the basic design of which should be settled before the gathering.

Specific tasks would be assigned to the organizations and institutions represented. For example, a nationwide organization of black women might be given responsibility for developing an instructional program on human sexuality, with emphasis on the preteen years. One of the national sororities could be charged to distribute and teach the program through its local chapters across the nation.

Similarly, a national fraternity might be asked to work closely with families that include school-age children whose well-being is threatened by drugs and alcohol. Special support for young black males to counteract the temptation of drug abuse may be especially needed in those families with female heads.

Little imagination is required to envision the range of support activities a local fraternity chapter could provide to families in need of help. And with each national fraternity assuming responsibility for a particular area of family life, the impact of this support could be hugely beneficial.

The church is deeply rooted in the black community; it is a familiar, local institution that is available during extended hours each day. So it seems eminently reasonable to expand its nurturing from the spiritual to encompass the earthly needs of black families. Churches could be used as "family resource centers," not necessarily delivering family services directly, but perhaps hiring family advocates, professionals who can assist families in obtaining needed help from both public and private agencies.

Black colleges, too, have traditionally played an important role in the progress of blacks and could serve a variety of functions in a national black family support program. Different institutions could assume responsibility for such activities as planning, data collection and analysis, running clearinghouses, and so on. Black colleges would help provide the intellectual energy to keep the effort focused, creative, and productive.

What the Black Community Can Do Best

These are only examples and not an exhaustive list of precise roles and functions to be performed by national organizations. The needs of black families are extensive, and black institutions cannot address all of those needs. But there are some things they can do better than anyone else. Furthermore, some of this help can be provided more efficiently and more effectively in coalition with other black groups.

Regional meetings subsequent to the national meeting of the leadership group could establish lines of communication between regional and local affiliates, which would enable the leadership to understand issues unique to different sections of the country. Such understanding would permit fine-tuning of program activities.

We have the know-how to build a national program of support for black families; the challenge now is to put it to work. Such an effort will give weight to future demands that the public and private sectors come forward with more realistic support for the country's black families.

As long as so many black families remain at risk, the nation itself is at risk.

Blacks on the Move

by William O'Hare

(The author is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Recently released Census data on population movement between 1980 and 1982 show an increase in the rate of black suburbanization and an unexpected change in black population movement between regions.

In a recent study, the Joint Center examined black population shifts during the 1970s and reported two major trends: Blacks moved to the suburbs in increasing numbers, reducing the proportion of the black population living in central cities; and for the first time in many decades, blacks were moving from the North to the South. New data allow us to begin to assess how these trends are faring in the 1980s.

From Central Cities to Suburbs

The movement of blacks out of central cities has increased dramatically since 1980. During each year of the late 1970s, about 233,000 blacks left central cities, while only 145,000 entered, resulting in a net out-migration of about 88,000 persons a year. In the first two years of the 1980s, the net out-migration of blacks from central cities exceeded 250,000 per year. And the out-migration was higher in 1981-82 than in 1980-81: 295,000 in 1981-82, compared to 260,000 in 1980-81.

Most of the blacks who left the central cities moved to suburbs rather than to rural areas. Black suburbanization, which started to increase in the 1970s, showed a dramatic increase in the early 1980s. Between 1975 and 1980, the suburbs received an average yearly net in-migration of 112,000 blacks, but between 1980 and 1981, they received about 208,000 and between 1981 and 1982, 318,000.

This increase may be due in part to differences between the patterns of mobility of blacks and whites. Whites are more likely to move long distances, while blacks are more prone to make short distance moves. As whites move from the northern suburbs to the South and West in search of jobs, they vacate homes that then become available to blacks who had been living in the central cities of the North.

But the increased black suburbanization reflects two distinct trends. Some blacks are moving from central cities into previously all white suburban neighborhoods and becoming reasonably well-integrated into those communities. This is a promising sign that racial barriers in housing may be weakening and that some black families are making economic progress sufficient to permit relocation to the most desirable suburbs.

However, in many cases, black suburbanization is simply the result of central-city black neighborhoods expanding across city boundaries and into the inner suburbs. This "spillover" is particularly evident in older suburbs that have begun to deteriorate, and it counters the notion that increased black suburbanization means that residential segregation by race has ended.

Interregional Moves

While the pattern of black suburbanization seen in the 1970s has accelerated, the pattern of blacks' interregional movement slowed markedly in 1980-82—perhaps even changed direction.

In the 1970s, particularly in the late seventies, there was a pronounced movement of blacks into the South and out of the Northeast and North Central regions of the country. Between 1975 and 1980, there was an average net migration of 39,000 blacks into the South each year. During this same period, there was an average yearly net out-migration of 35,000 blacks per year from the Northeast and 10,000 per year from the North Central region.

Between 1980 and 1981, the North continued to lose blacks and the South continued to receive more black migrants than it lost. But between 1981 and 1982, that pattern was reversed: there was a small net out-migration of blacks from the South and a small net migration of blacks into the North. During the same year, whites continued and, in fact, increased their migration from the North to the South.

The figures for 1981-82 are too small to be statistically significant, and they could represent merely a temporary aberration. But they raise several questions: Was the movement of blacks into the South in the late 1970s simply an anomaly in long-term trends? Was the reversal in this trend prompted by economic considerations? Did those blacks who moved to the South in the late 1970s find it inhospitable? Are the blacks who moved to the South in the 1970s different in some significant way from those who are leaving the South in the early 1980s?

And if the black out-migration from the South during 1981-82 turns out to be a return to the trend that has existed for most of the twentieth century, there will be another important question to answer: Why are blacks migrating northward at the same time whites are pursuing expanding job opportunities in the South and West?

(*Blacks on the Move: A Decade of Demographic Change*, an in-depth study of black migration during the 1970s, is available for \$4.95 from the Joint Center. Address orders to the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004)

Interregional migration of blacks,
1975-1982 (in 1,000s)

	Yearly Averages		
	75-80	80-81	81-82
Northeast			
Blacks	-35	-49	12
Whites	-255	-168	-193
North Central			
Blacks	-10	-30	38
Whites	-221	-355	-377
South			
Blacks	39	31	-31
Whites	314	437	488
West			
Blacks	6	48	-19
Whites	163	86	82

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, Nos. 368, 377, and 384.

Telescope

Congressional Committee on Cities Proposed

Congressman William J. Coyne (D-PA) has proposed legislation to form a Select Committee on Cities to deal with the growing economic, social, and political pressures faced by today's urban areas. Currently, urban issues are handled under a variety of congressional committees: housing matters fall under Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs; mass transit issues, under Public Works and Transportation; employment, under Education and Labor; welfare, under Ways and Means, and so forth.

Stating that "the splintered legislative authority in the House over urban matters has contributed to the fact that many federal policies and programs pull in contrary directions," Coyne has called for a single committee that would address the problems of the cities more cohesively. The committee would be nonlegislative but authorized to conduct investigations and make recommendations. Its overall objective would be to examine the impact of federal government programs and policies on American cities; as such, it would examine a host of related issues such as demographic trends, infrastructures, fiscal policies, and methods of governing. It would report its findings and recommendations to the House within two years after its formation.

JCPS Helps Cities in Arkansas and Florida

The Joint Center's Community Development Program has helped secure more than \$4.5 million in Community Development Block Grant funds for several cities in Florida and Arkansas since April 1983. The center provides assistance in competing for grants to small cities with significant minority populations, under a cooperative agreement with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (see *Focus*, September 1983).

The center has helped five cities in Florida secure funding from Florida's small cities CDBG program:

Appalachicola (sewer and drainage), \$500,000; Kissimmee (water, sewers, drainage, flood control, and fire hydrants), \$750,000; Marianna (housing rehabilitation), \$282,000; Mt. Dora (sewer and drainage), \$167,000; and two grants for Quincy (neighborhood and commercial revitalization and housing), at \$650,000 each. Earlier, the center had helped three cities in Arkansas—Carthage, Haynes, and Lakeview—secure grants totaling more than \$1.5 million.

K mart Reaches Out to Minority Vendors

One of many interesting presentations at the Fourth National Policy Institute in February was that given by Frederick M. Stevens, senior vice president for sales and general merchandising manager of the K mart Corporation, outlining K mart's efforts to find more minority vendors to supply its stores. K mart is willing to provide technical assistance at many phases of a product's development—from market analysis to packaging. It is willing to consider lower than usual profit margins in working with minority suppliers in early stages of development. And it can work in a limited distribution area with a vendor that is too small to supply the entire chain. James T. McKittrick, K mart's director of merchandising, has been designated minority vendor coordinator. Mr. McKittrick can be reached at K mart Corporation, 3100 West Big Beaver Road, Troy, Michigan, 48084; telephone (313) 643-5597.

New Heads for Two SEO Organizations

Mary Lett, former vice president of the National Caucus of Black School Board Members, has been elected president of the organization, succeeding William B. Ingram. She is president of the East Orange, New Jersey school board.

Washington, D.C. Mayor Marion Barry has been elected president of the National Conference of Black Mayors, succeeding Johnny L. Ford, Sr., mayor of Tuskegee, Alabama.

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FOOD CRISIS IN AFRICA

Ruinous food shortages plague much of Africa; an administrator at the U.S. Department of Agriculture talks about American and African efforts to find short and long-term solutions.

THE FOLLY OF THE SUB-MINIMUM WAGE

The Reagan administration and the National Conference of Black Mayors endorse the idea as a youth employment measure, but a noted social scientist says it's already been tried—and failed.



THE DEBT OF DEVELOP- ING NATIONS

Third World countries owe more than \$700 billion to the banks of the industrial world. How did such a debt pile up? How can it be managed?

Perspective

July 2 will mark the twentieth anniversary of President Johnson's signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a legislative landmark that required great effort to erect. Among other things, the act mandated equal access to public accommodations; authorized the Justice Department to sue to desegregate schools and public facilities; provided for the denial of federal funds to institutions that discriminate; outlawed discrimination in most places of employment; and called for affirmative action as relief for victims of unlawful employment discrimination. Beginning on June 28, the Joint Center will sponsor a two-day conference at the National Academy of Sciences to commemorate the anniversary of the act. "The Civil Rights Act: Two Decades Later" will be an occasion to assess the impact of the act and call attention to the unfinished civil rights agenda.

Coretta Scott King has agreed to serve as the honorary chairperson, and we will have as participants some of the nation's foremost civil rights advocates, scholars, and political analysts, including social psychologist Kenneth B. Clark; David Garrow, author of *Protest at Selma*; Vernon Jordan, former president of the National Urban League; pollster Louis Harris; and Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta.

In some ways, the social and economic indicators show a disheartening lack of progress over the past twenty years. As a recent Joint Center study showed, blacks as a group still earn 55 percent of what whites earn—almost exactly the same proportion as in 1964. Blacks also register to vote in almost the same proportions as two decades ago—about 60 percent—and many of the barriers to registration and voting that they confronted in 1964 still persist today. Affirmative action against racial discrimination, a concept that was introduced in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, is under strong attack again. We are discussing some of the same issues that were prominent twenty years ago—the crisis of the black family, to name one.

But these signs of stagnation are somewhat misleading. They mask very real and major changes that have occurred within the black community, as well as dramatic trends in the society as a whole.

Although black economic progress seems stagnant

overall, there has developed both a sizable and fairly stable black middle class. At the same time, however, there has emerged a large group of black families headed by single females—more than half of which are in poverty. This polarization of the black community is one of the most significant developments of the past quarter century; its implications have not yet been adequately explored. There has also been real progress in the accumulation of black wealth as compared to white wealth—but from a much lower base, so that black families still have only one-third the wealth of whites. But, perhaps most significant, the trends of the last two decades have not been flat: progress was made up through the late 1970s; it has been eclipsed by precipitous declines since then.

Likewise, there has been political and social progress as well as inertia. The number of black elected officials has grown continually, if not always dramatically. Public school segregation has decreased markedly in the South (although it has increased in the North). Many forms of discrimination are simply unacceptable to most Americans today.

At the same time, American society as a whole has changed. The anti-discrimination approaches of the Civil Rights Act have been expanded to many other groups, including Hispanics, women, the handicapped, and the aged. The industrial base of our economy is giving way to a technological and service base, and no one is sure of all the ramifications of this development. The Joint Center's conference will explore the act in light of these historical changes.

Participants will describe the objectives of the Civil Rights Act and chart the change over the past two decades in public attitudes towards those objectives; examine how the act has affected the socioeconomic and educational status of blacks; and discuss changes in the political context of the civil rights struggle and the evolution of minority politics since the act was passed.

I hope many of you will join us for this important conference (see page 7 for other details).

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Food Crisis in Africa

by Joan S. Wallace

(The author is administrator of the Office of International Cooperation and Development, U.S. Department of Agriculture.)

More than 600 million people worldwide lack sufficient food to meet their basic nutritional needs. One child in four born in the developing countries dies before the age of five, usually of malnutrition. Each year, 100,000 children go blind from a lack of vitamin A. These are the dimensions of the world's food problem.

Nowhere is the problem more serious than in Africa. In most of the developing world, food production has outpaced population growth, but in Africa, per capita food production has actually declined in recent years. Of all the continents, Africa has the largest percentage of hungry people in its population.

Even the casual visitor can readily see the devastating impact of hunger and malnutrition. Disease is rampant in many nations. Hunger impairs its victims physically and mentally, rendering them unable to help themselves and reducing life expectancy to less than 50 years.

Food shortages have plagued Africa in the past, but the situation today is especially perilous. The worst drought of the century has ruined the crops of African farmers. For the past three years, this drought has hit more countries than ever before; in past crises (in the Sahel in 1972-74 and eastern Africa in 1980-81), the emergency was more limited in scope. Countries that normally export food to their neighbors in southern Africa are now critically short themselves.

The food supplies of some 23 countries—with a combined population of more than 225 million—are threatened. About 9 million people face an immediate crisis and many have already died of starvation. Recently, leaders of six African nations appealed directly to over 150 U.S. relief organizations for help in meeting this emergency.

Obstacles

What is preventing the African nations from building their food supplies? There is, of course, no single obstacle. The primary problem is poverty. Modern agriculture requires investments in technology, research, machinery, and training that most African nations cannot afford. But there are other, less obvious, factors curtailing African food output as well.

Among these are the weather and a lack of arable land. Three-quarters of Africa below the Sahara is too dry for farming without irrigation, and few countries have water management systems that enable them to use their meager supplies effectively. This makes sustained production extremely difficult for African farmers.

Storage and distribution are two other major stumbling blocks. Foreign food shipments are limited because there is so little storage capacity in the recipient countries. Existing facilities are plainly inadequate and they allow significant losses from insects. And with few paved roads in the outlying regions of some countries, it is virtually impossible to deliver food to the rural areas where the need is often greatest. Similarly, rural farmers often cannot

deliver their harvest to city markets before it spoils. A Tanzanian official once told me that his country lost 60 percent of some crops because of inadequate storage and distribution.

A lack of foreign exchange (hard currency) limits the amount of food that many African countries can buy to satisfy their needs. Since few of these countries have industries capable of earning large amounts of hard currency, the purchase of needed foodstuffs is difficult.

In some African nations, agriculture is not the highest priority—resources are severely limited and sometimes industry or public health gets more attention. In others, food problems are compounded by government corruption, warfare, revolution, or political strife. Some nations have opted for policies that subsidize food for urban consumers rather than stimulating stronger production by offering farmers better prices. These policies encourage reliance on imported food and aid rather than strengthening self-reliance. Fortunately, though, most African nations have been wise enough to give food production high priority.

Seeking Solutions

Agricultural development in Africa will take a long time. It will require a concerted effort by developed countries, by international organizations such as the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), by private voluntary groups such as CARE and Catholic Relief Services, black groups, and the Africans themselves.

Since the end of World War II, the United States has provided other countries with \$165 billion in economic assistance, of which more than \$113 billion has been outright grants or gifts. We have also pledged increasing amounts of food to international efforts such as the World Food Program. Last year, we pledged a record \$250 million to that program—14 percent more than in the preceding year. We have also made surplus commodities available to private organizations such as CARE for feeding needy people abroad.

U.S. economic assistance to Africa amounted to \$880 million last fiscal year, and, because of the food crisis, this figure increased to \$1.15 billion in fiscal '84. This increase comes at a time when many other government programs are being cut or held at the same funding levels.

Recently, FAO called on all nations to contribute additional food and economic assistance to African countries in the wake of the serious drought there. To help meet this goal, the U.S. government earmarked \$138 million worth of emergency food aid for Africa last fiscal year and has increased this figure to \$222 million so far this fiscal year.

However, food aid is at best a temporary solution. It is the long and hard process of agricultural development that holds promise for Africa. At last year's World Food Council Ministerial meeting in New York, the Agriculture Ministers of both Kenya and Lesotho emphasized that aid is not the ultimate answer and that a long-term commitment to sound development policies is needed. The African nations must have strong agricultural policies and develop expertise in research, marketing, and management.

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The agriculture ministers of African nations met last year at a regional conference sponsored by FAO and committed themselves to greater efforts under the new Lagos Plan of Action. This plan, devised by and for Africans, aims at building agricultural trade within the continent, creating national food reserves, removing barriers to production, and ending dependence on food from outside sources.

The keys to successful development are effective technical assistance and training. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) administers such assistance and training through its Office of International Cooperation and Development (OICD). Last year, OICD sent over 975 technicians to 85 countries to promote agricultural development under agreements with the Agency for International Development (AID), international organizations, and foreign governments. Its projects involve everything from nutrition to food marketing. But they all have one common goal—helping developing nations to help themselves.

OICD nutritionists have worked with the Egyptians on fortifying wheat to prevent anemia and with the Nigerians on improving weaning foods. In the Sahel, OICD has worked on regional food crop production and financial management for agricultural development projects. In Kenya, we have researched dryland cropping and projects to improve livestock and range management. Several of our African projects focus on the need for more fuelwood, the lack of which has become a critical problem in many parts of the continent. All told, there are over 40 OICD technical assistance projects to help African nations provide food for their people.

OICD also offers training and education in agriculture and rural development to foreign administrators, ministry officials, scientists, and technicians. More than 70,000 agriculturists from the developing world have taken part in these USDA programs since 1950. Offerings range from short-term technical training to coordinating study by foreign students at U.S. colleges and universities. Foreign governments, AID, and international organizations fund this training.

Other OICD projects involve work with international organizations that seek to overcome world food problems. These organizations include the development banks, the World Food Program, World Food Council, and FAO. The United States makes substantial contributions to these organizations and works closely with them. The United States initiated FAO's postharvest loss prevention program and has strongly supported its soil management and fertilizer programs. We have also lent support to FAO efforts to combat plant and animal diseases. All of these projects are of great importance to Africa.

Involving U.S. Blacks

We must not forget that the black experience in

some nations is one of hunger and deprivation on a scale rarely found in the United States. Black scientists, educators, and researchers here should have a special interest in helping to solve the problems afflicting blacks in other nations.

American blacks must commit themselves to making a difference. We have an obligation to those overseas who are burdened daily by famine, food shortages, and malnutrition. Countless Africans have watched their children die in the Sahel and in Ethiopia in the last decade. Even in good years, many have never known the comfort of having enough to eat, of life without the fear of starvation.

Successful international development is predicated on meeting the needs of blacks, Asians, Latin Americans—people whose cultures are far different from the majority culture in America. The history of international development is scarred by the failure to appreciate these cultural differences; for this reason, it is particularly important that minorities play a larger role in development.

For example, opportunities exist today for historically black colleges in overseas projects. Institutions like Tuskegee, Southern, and Prairie View have been teaching agricultural techniques to small farmers for decades, and the farmers of Africa and the Caribbean usually work small plots of land. Not long ago, OICD hosted a conference to familiarize its staff with the resources available at the nation's historically black colleges; this, we hope, will result in greater involvement for these institutions in USDA's international programs.

Other efforts are also under way to include minorities and women in development projects: AID recently provided a grant to the Booker T. Washington Foundation to establish links between American and African blacks so that, together, they might explore possible solutions to socioeconomic problems; and OICD has begun giving special attention to the training of women, since so many farmers in developing nations are women. OICD also offers special courses for women managers from developing countries.

Private and religious organizations have also played a major role in fostering development and providing food to the needy overseas. Much of the food the U.S. government donates is handled by private voluntary groups. The names of these groups are all familiar: CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Lutheran World Relief, and Church World Services are just a few. All of these groups rely on donations and volunteers.

There is much work to be done in Africa, and U.S. blacks—like all Americans—have an obligation to help. We must support voluntary organizations and seek a greater role in development programs. Above all, we must take a greater role within the institutions that set development policy.

... Subminimum Wage

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the American economy. Initiatives such as the Boston Compact, the New York Partnership Summer Employment Program, and the Philadelphia Urban Coalition Summer Employment Program demonstrate that

important gains can be made to get youth into private sector jobs under current employment and training policies. Programs like these ought to be supported and expanded.

The national policy objective should be to elevate low-skilled youth to a point where they can earn a decent wage, not diminish our wage standards on the erroneous claim that to do so will lower the teenage unemployment rate.

The Run-off Primary, Blacks, and the Democratic Party

The Reverend Jesse Jackson, in his campaign for the Democratic party's presidential nomination, has criticized run-off primaries as a form of discrimination against blacks. Jackson contends that run-off primaries, also known as second primaries, reduce the chances of black candidates winning their party's nomination for office. He has made the elimination of these primaries a principal goal of his candidacy and perhaps a condition of his support for the Democratic party presidential nominee.

This position has stirred considerable controversy over the effects of run-off primaries and what, if anything, should be done about them.

1. What is a run-off primary?

If three or more candidates run for nomination in a partisan primary and none receives a majority of the votes cast, several states require a *run-off*, or *second*, primary. In the runoff, the two highest vote getters must compete head to head, and the winner is the party's nominee. Sometimes the candidate who won the largest number of votes in the first primary loses in the run-off.

Run-off elections are also held in some jurisdictions with nonpartisan election systems. After an open primary in which any qualified voter—not just party members—can vote, a run-off election is held in which the two highest voter getters compete for office. Both run-off primaries and run-off general elections are "majority vote requirements," but in the latter, candidates compete in only two elections, while a run-off primary means candidates must run three times—in two primaries and in the general election.

2. Where are run-off primaries used?

Run-off primaries are mandated by law in nine southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas—and in Oklahoma. In most of these states, state law requires run-off primaries for federal and state offices and local laws require run-off primaries for local elections.

Run-off primaries are almost unknown outside the South, although a few places have modified run-off systems, in which a run-off is required only if no candidate receives a minimum percentage of the votes cast. For example, Iowa requires a minimum of 35 percent and New York City requires a 40 percent vote in the first primary.

Louisiana and a few cities, such as Boston, have nonpartisan run-off elections. Many local jurisdictions in the South have attempted to institute nonpartisan majority-vote systems since 1965 but have met with objections by the Justice Department under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act.

3. When were run-off primaries instituted?

The southern states began to adopt the run-off primaries at the beginning of this century, during the same period that statewide primaries—often white primaries—were begun. Mississippi was the first state to mandate run-off primaries, in 1902. Other states conducted run-offs even before it became a legal requirement: South Carolina, for example, used run-off primaries from 1896 on, but wrote the requirement into law only in 1915. By 1939, all the nine southern states had adopted the procedure.

4. Were run-off primaries instituted in order to restrict black political power?

Because run-off primaries were instituted at the same time blacks were being successfully disenfranchised by other means, some analysts have concluded that their intent was not discriminatory. These analysts have linked

the procedure to the existence of one-party politics in the South. They argue that it facilitated intraparty factional competition by allowing several candidates to compete while ensuring majority decisions.

Other analysts, however, have argued that the purpose of run-off primaries could well have been to reinforce the exclusion of blacks from political power, especially since some blacks continued to vote in the South well after the major disenfranchisement measures were adopted.

Both purposes could have been intended; exclusion of black voters or dilution of their votes has shaped the character of southern politics for the last century.

5. How do run-off primaries affect black candidates?

Those who argue most strongly for the abolition of run-off primaries focus on the experiences of black candidates. In a number of contests for elective office—federal, state, and local—black candidates have led in the first primary, only to be defeated in the run-off. In these cases, black voters had united behind the black candidate, while white voters had split their votes in support of two or more white candidates in the first round, but united behind the leading white candidate in the run-off.

The best-known recent example is the 1982 Democratic congressional primary in the second district in North Carolina. There, H. M. "Mickey" Michaux, a black candidate, led in the first primary with 44.5 percent of the vote, but lost in the run-off when white voters coalesced behind Tim Valentine, a white candidate who had received only 32.7 percent of the vote in the first round. Other black candidates who lost run-offs after leading the field in the first primary include James Clyburn, who won 43.0 percent of the vote in the first primary for the 1978 Democratic nomination for Secretary of State in South Carolina; and Charles Evers, who won 29.3 percent of the vote in the first primary of a 1968 special election to fill a vacancy in the third congressional district in Mississippi.

It is possible, of course, for the run-off primary to help a black candidate. For example, in a district with a solid black majority, the black vote could be split among several candidates in the first round but coalesce in the second in support of the black front-runner. Such an outcome is possible in three southern congressional districts, Georgia's fifth, Louisiana's second, and Mississippi's second currently represented by Wyche Fowler, Lindy Boggs, and Webb Franklin, respectively.

In fact, some political scientists suggest that as blacks become more successful at winning primaries and elections, it will be increasingly difficult to maintain unity behind a single minority candidate. And similar problems may arise in states that have two different sizable minority populations. In Texas, for example, blacks and Hispanics have often been able to agree on a single candidate in an election, but competition may increase—especially if run-off primaries are eliminated. As more minority candidates seek office, the run-off might well work to the advantage of the minority community. Up to now, however, such instances have been rare.

There is little doubt, then, that runoff primaries hurt the prospects of black candidates under certain circumstances. Where there is white bloc voting and a large but less-than-majority black population, the run-off hurts black candidates. On the other hand, where blacks comprise a solid majority of the population, runoffs clearly do not hurt black candidates. Likewise, where blacks are only a small proportion of the voting population, and white bloc voting is the norm, a run-off system will seldom affect the chance of a black candidate, which will be low to begin with.

6. Do run-off primaries encourage coalition building?

Some supporters of the run-off primary suggest that the run-off might encourage white candidates to seek coalitions across racial lines and thus increase the influence of black voters, even if it does hurt black candidates. They note that in a run-off election between two white candidates, the candidates might compete for the black vote by showing responsiveness to black concerns.

Supporters of run-off primaries sometimes point to examples of moderate or liberal whites who came in second to more conservative whites in first primaries but won run-offs. Mississippi Governor William Winter's victory in 1979 and Lester Maddox's loss in 1974 are frequently cited. There are numerous counter-examples, however—Winter himself would have won the governorship twelve years ago had he not lost a run-off; Lester Maddox launched his career in 1966 by coming from behind in a second primary to beat Ellis Arnall. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus also got his start by coming from behind in a second primary.

7. Will eliminating run-off primaries result in more successful black candidates?

Speculation on this question has ranged widely. Run-off primary systems, of course, are part of an overall political picture, and if they are eliminated, other parts of the picture will change as well. Without run-offs to ensure white victory, whites may tend to unite behind a single white candidate in the first primary to avoid opening an opportunity for black success. There is some historic evidence that Democratic politics in Virginia and Tennessee, which do not have run-off primaries, is much less factionalized than politics in the southern states that do have run-offs.

Blacks may be encouraged to run in races they had previously considered hopeless; but in some cases, they may run against each other, dividing black votes. Black candidacies would increase black voter participation overall.

Whether blacks who did succeed in capturing the nomination would have a better chance of winning the election has been the subject of much debate. Would whites desert the Democratic party as more blacks win nominations? Since objections to run-off primaries are postulated on the existence of white bloc voting, it is quite possible that many white Democrats would vote Republican rather than support a black Democratic nominee.

8. Do the negative effects of run-offs amount to discrimination against blacks?

Certainly, run-off primaries are not inherently discriminatory against blacks. In a majority-black electorate, for instance, run-offs do not hurt blacks. But such mechanisms as poll taxes, literacy tests, or at-large elections are not inherently discriminatory either. None of these mechanisms can be evaluated apart from the electoral context in which it is used.

The Justice Department, in reviewing changes submitted for preclearance under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, evaluates the potential for discriminatory effects in the context of local circumstances. The burden of proving that the changes do not discriminate is on the local jurisdiction, but the Justice Department has concluded in many instances that run-offs can have a discriminatory effect. For example, in objecting to voting law changes submitted for preclearance in 1978 by Mullins, South Carolina, the Justice Department stated,

Because of the potential for diluting black voting strength inherent in the use of a majority vote requirement under circumstances such as exist in Mullins and because the city has

advanced no compelling reason for its use, we are unable to conclude . . . that the imposition of the majority requirement, in the context of an at-large election system, will not have a racially discriminatory effect.

In a letter responding to a request for reconsideration of the objection, the Justice Department added:

our analysis of election returns reveals evidence of racial bloc voting, and our research indicates that black candidates may be deterred by the existence of a majority vote requirement.

According to the ACLU, the Justice Department objected to majority-vote requirement under Section 5 (of the Voting Rights Act) in 66 submissions between 1975 and 1980. In most of these cases, the majority-vote requirement was tied to a nonpartisan election, not a partisan primary, and was one of a number of potentially discriminatory electoral arrangements.

In 1981, the Civil Rights Commission also acknowledged the discriminatory effects of majority vote requirements on blacks in the South:

The effect of this rule majority vote upon minority candidates can be significant, especially in jurisdictions where whites are in a majority and consistently refuse to support minority candidates. . . . Under a majority-vote rule, a run-off with a white candidate in these circumstances would generally result in defeat.

Notable recent elections such as 1983 mayoral election in Chicago demonstrate that plurality primaries can substantially increase the prospects for success by a black candidate. It is in part the contrast between the outcome in Chicago in 1983 and that in North Carolina's 2nd district in 1982 that has heightened concern about the adverse effects of the run-off primary.

9. Does the run-off primary enhance majority rule and the quality of representation?

The run-off primary, with its requirement for nomination by a majority rather than a plurality, appeals to the public's belief in majority rule. And several analysts have attempted to portray it as merely implementing this principle. Others suggest that the requirement increases the chances for the selection of representatives with broad appeal and for excluding extremist candidates.

In fact, however, American politics relies overwhelmingly on plurality elections. Forty of the 50 states and the overwhelming majority of municipalities do not require majority votes either to nominate or to elect candidates.

Moreover, because turnout usually falls off in run-off elections, the winning candidate in the second round sometimes actually receives fewer votes than the front-runner did in the first round. For example, in the 1972 Texas Senatorial primary, turnout dropped by 130,000, and Ralph Yarborough was beaten by Harold Barefoot Sanders even though Yarborough received 25,000 more votes in the first primary than Sanders did in the second. And ironically, the jurisdictions that have insisted on majority vote primaries are the very ones that have historically maintained major barriers to voting.

There is no basis for determining whether the quality of representation is enhanced by the run-off requirement. One might assume that a candidate elected with a majority of the votes cast has the support of a broader segment of the electorate than one who is elected by a plurality. However, given the fall-off in voting that usually occurs in run-off elections, that assumption might not be justified. Furthermore, so many factors affect the quality of representation that it would be imprudent to attach too much weight to a majority vote system as a means of ensuring a high quality of representation.

10. What can be done to eliminate run-off primaries?

Much of the controversy about run-off primaries centers on how to eliminate them, assuming their elimination is desired. Jesse Jackson has been pursuing two avenues. One is political—calling on the presidential candidates and the national Democratic party to take steps to eliminate them. The other is judicial—initiating a suit in the U.S. District Court for Northern Mississippi challenging that state's run-off primary system.

The Political Remedies. Although this approach has received the greatest attention, it is still unclear how effective a presidential candidate, the president, or the national party could be in ending run-off primaries. Any of these could seek federal legislation barring run-off primaries in congressional elections. Congress probably cannot mandate changes in state or local election laws, but such federal legislation might pressure states to bring their practices in line with federal election practices—if only for administrative convenience. However, the prospect of federal legislation against run-off primaries is very slim. There is no evidence of widespread discomfort with run-off elections, and the issue could easily create splits along regional lines.

National party officials and the candidates could also try to persuade state party officials to seek to change state laws, but this is probably even more unlikely. It is also possible that state political parties might be able to abandon run-off primaries even in states that mandate them.

Using the Courts. The Supreme Court has ruled that majority vote requirements are not *per se* unconstitutional, and recent Court interpretations of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments would make constitutional challenges very difficult.

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, however, as amended in 1982, explicitly prohibits election laws or procedures that have the intent or effect of discriminating against minorities. The legislative history of the amendment explicitly lists the majority vote requirement as one sign of a racially discriminatory electoral system. And although there has never been a court decision solely and specifically on the majority vote requirement, courts have repeatedly recognized its place in the constellation of discriminatory devices. Thus, while the Voting Rights Act does not ban all run-offs, most run-offs would probably be found to violate the act, given the specific electoral contexts in which they are used.

But Section 2 litigation is a complex and expensive process that can drag on for years. Furthermore, it is unclear how universally applicable any ruling would be, given the "totality of circumstances" that has to be shown in each case. It is hardly the choice avenue for combating voting rights violations. Section 5 can be used to prevent changes in current laws, but it has no power over laws in effect before 1965, when the Voting Rights Act was first passed.

11. What are the alternatives to run-off primaries?

The most obvious alternative is the plurality system, which is the system used in most elections in the United States and preferred by most opponents to run-off primaries.

Some have proposed a 40 percent rule. Under this rule,

a run-off would be held if no candidate received more than 40 percent of the vote. Proponents argue that a 40 percent showing indicates a substantial base of support, shutting out fringe candidates and enhancing the prospects of minority candidates in some cases. The "40 Percent Solution" is a political compromise that appears to have some support in the Democratic party.

12. What are the political implications of change?

There is considerable speculation about the effects that change in the run-off primary would have on minorities, on the political parties, and on national politics. These speculations range from sharp increases in the number of black elected officials to massive party realignment in the south—or both. But the issue is complex; several types of change are possible; and other features of local politics would almost certainly change if primaries are eliminated. It is therefore virtually impossible to do much more than identify a number of possible outcomes.

If election procedures are modified by the adoption of thresholds below 50 percent beyond which a run-off would not be required, the opportunities for minorities to win nominations would probably increase slightly with little impact on existing patterns of partisan support. Elimination of all run-off primaries might open up greatly increased opportunities for black candidates, but might also produce major changes in partisan support and in the prospects for the black candidates to win elective offices.

The principal beneficiaries of the current run-off system are white Democratic candidates in white-majority jurisdictions with substantial black populations. They would stand to lose if these primaries were eliminated or altered. If changes occur amid great controversy, and if southern white Democratic voters attach more weight to race than to partisanship, the Democratic party might be another major loser, as whites defect to Republican candidates. Such defections could be short-lived, but they could permit the Republican party to develop a grass-roots base that it does not now enjoy in the south.

Of more immediate concern to some analysts are the likely effects of change on the 1984 presidential race. The run-off primary is viewed by some observers as a black issue of dubious merit, and major concessions on this issue by the Democratic party, such as a forthright call for the elimination of run-off primaries, could enrage Democrats who already feel that the party is too sympathetic to minorities. Were such perceptions widespread in the South, Democratic candidates' chances for success could be reduced.

On the other hand, failure to address the issue might produce substantial black disenchantment with the Democratic party in 1984 and discourage turnout. Failure to be sensitive to the concerns of blacks on this issue could be as devastating to the Democratic party as failure to be sensitive to the concerns of whites.

In spite of the uncertainties and obvious risks reform poses, the issue is unlikely to disappear. The Justice Department and some southern politicians had been examining second primaries before the issue was raised on by Jesse Jackson. By focusing national attention on it, the Jackson candidacy ensures continued attention well after November.

The Historical Origins of the Run-off Primary

by J. Morgan Kousser

(Dr. Kousser is professor of history and social science at the California Institute of Technology.)

Was the adoption of the run-off primary part of a general

"progressive" move to democratize elections, or was it an episode in a reactionary crusade to eliminate any chance of black influence in politics by perpetuating one-party rule?

Under the 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act

and the Supreme Court's 1982 opinion in *Rogers v. Lodge*—its most recent major pronouncement on standards in "minority vote dilution" litigation—the prime judicial criterion for evaluating such devices as the run-off primary system will be their *effect* on the political power of racial minorities, not the *intent* of the framers or perpetrators of the laws. Nonetheless, a knowledge of the historical context in which the run-off system was adopted is still pertinent in lawsuits and may help to shape public attitudes toward abandoning or retaining the system.

Since historians have only recently turned any attention at all to the intent behind the run-off system, all the available evidence is circumstantial. But we can confidently say that direct primaries were adopted in the South at least partially to maintain white Democratic supremacy and that the run-off, adopted along with primaries themselves, functioned as a further guarantee of the partisan and racial status quo.

From Conventions to Primaries

In the post-Reconstruction South, turnout was above 60 percent of the adult southern males—including black males—during the 1880s, and the Republican, independent, and later, Populist threats to Democratic dominance remained quite real. In the 1880 presidential contest, for instance, a majority of black men are estimated to have voted in 9 of the 11 ex-Confederate states, and in 10 of those, they managed to have a majority of their votes counted for the Republican party, which they overwhelmingly supported. The South was far from "solid" yet.

Any significant bolt of whites from the Democratic or "white man's" party could well lead to defeats—and to the assumption of power by blacks and their white allies—at the local or even the state level. In Virginia, for instance, a coalition of blacks and hill-country whites, led by a Democrat discontented with his defeat in a boss-controlled party convention, ruled the state from 1879 to 1883.

The primary was recognized and touted as a minimizer of bolts. Thus, in 1878, the chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee proposed that delegates to the state convention be selected in primaries "to promote harmony... and to prevent as far as possible the occurrence of combinations injurious to the party. A Tuskegee Democratic newspaper thought the primary "the only thing that can unite and hold the party together."

Deeply divided over the question of continuing the corrupt state lottery company in 1892, Louisiana Democrats settled their differences in the first statewide primary ever held, as far as I know, in the United States. That it was limited to whites and that it came at the time of a very serious Populist and Republican challenge to Democratic control should give pause to those who picture the primary as a well-intentioned, racially neutral device to expand popular control. Likewise, in the same year, South Carolina Democrats kept the bitter split between Ben Tillman and his "conservative" opponents within the confines of the party by electing convention delegates in primaries coordinated throughout the state.

In 1895, the South Carolina Democratic Convention called for a constitutional convention to disfranchise as many blacks as possible by law; at the same time, the Democrats passed a party rule requiring nominations for state offices from 1896 on to be made by direct primaries. In case no candidate received a majority, the party provided for a run-off primary. Ben Tillman, who dominated both the party and constitutional conventions, selected the primary, according to his biographer, "as the most satisfactory means of allaying discontent within the Democratic ranks and of reducing the danger of political appeal to the Negro."

There were no other statewide direct primaries in the South (or elsewhere in the nation) during the 1890s. By 1902, when Mississippi became the first state in the

Union to require, by law, the primary method of nomination for all non-judicial state officers, disfranchising conventions or constitutional amendments had severely reduced black—and poor white—voting in all eleven southern states. Since direct primaries in general and the run-off in particular were, except in South Carolina, mandated only after 1900, could they have had any racial intent? Since most blacks were disfranchised by then, wasn't the situation "race proof?"

Were Primaries and Run-offs Aimed Against Blacks?

The most obvious answer is that very little in the South since 1619 has been devoid of racial motives. Perhaps less obviously, the "race proof" argument depends on hindsight. When primaries, often with run-off provisions, were adopted by Democratic party rule or by law in the early part of this century, it was by no means so clear as it seemed later that party competition and black participation in politics were doomed for a half century. Furthermore, we should not underestimate either the continuing extent of black voting or the degree of southern white antipathy in the "lily white period" to any black political activity whatsoever.

That white racism has been one of the central themes of southern history is familiar enough not to need documentation. The perceived fragility of the disfranchisement settlement, however, must be shown.

According to a North Carolina editor who surveyed opinion in 1899 in three states that had held disfranchising conventions, "without the legal primary, divisions among white men might result in bringing about a return to the deplorable conditions when one faction of white men call upon the Negroes to help defeat another faction." After all, fairly administered literacy tests and funds to pay the poll taxes of potential voters could easily have enfranchised a majority of the blacks in any southern state in the early twentieth century, and Democrats feared that the self-interest of opposition politicians might, as it had during Reconstruction and the Populist eras, overcome their devotion to white supremacy. Moreover, southern moves to subvert the purposes of the Fifteenth Amendment never received the sanction of the U.S. Supreme Court, but only its agreement, in effect, not to overthrow the restrictive laws, a *modus vivendi* that lasted only from 1903 to 1915, when the Court overturned the Oklahoma "grandfather clause."

Furthermore, the number of blacks who were registered to vote after "disfranchisement" was small, but not negligible—9 percent in Mississippi in 1896, and 14-15 percent in South Carolina and Virginia in 1904. In certain areas, blacks might be able to elect one or more officials. Some whites, in a period when lynchings were public carnivals, were genuinely horrified by the slightest deviation from complete black subordination. More importantly, opportunistic politicians could be depended upon to whip up any racial issue for their own purposes.

Nor were blacks wholly barred from the largely locally regulated "white" primaries. In 1899 at least 200 blacks voted in a Democratic primary in one Mississippi county, and, as one historian concluded about that state as a whole, "Negroes had not been eliminated from the polls but were playing the same part a decade after [the Mississippi disfranchising convention of 1890] that they had played for a dozen or fifteen years before its adoption." The Little Rock, Arkansas, Democratic Central Committee turned down a white-only primary resolution in 1901, and Arkansas primaries became fully Caucasian only as a result of the actions of the deeply racist governor, Jeff Davis, in 1906. Aware that open, legal exclusion of blacks from the primaries would bring the risk of court action, no state before Texas in 1923 wrote a white-only provision into the law. All acted by party rule; they usually gave local Democratic committees discretion on the matter; and

some areas never established utterly white primaries.

There was, then, an incentive for white Southern Democrats in the early 1900s to seek to reinforce the exclusion of blacks from electoral power.

The Mississippi legislature passed a bill imposing a primary and containing a run-off requirement in 1902. "The salvation of our State," backers of a primary with a run-off contended, "depends on the unity of our white people. This vote can only be secured by ascertaining and effectuating the choice of [the] majority, to the exclusion of Negroes." That white Democratic party hegemony was a prime motive for the adoption of the primary in Mississippi was also openly avowed by the chief sponsor of the 1902 law, Edmund F. Noel, in a 1904 article: "White supremacy could be maintained only by the members of that race remaining together politically, otherwise comparatively few Negroes who are qualified to vote might wield the balance of power. No political organization can long be kept from factional contests, without confidence in the fairness of its methods of ascertaining and carrying into effect the will of the majority. . . . Conventions or mass meetings as the ultimate method of expressing popular choice would not be tolerated in any civilized community. . . ."

In 1901, Florida provided by statute for a non-mandatory primary containing a run-off provision. The Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, which set temporary rules for each election, provided for run-offs in 1902 and 1914. South Carolina conducted run-off elections by party regulation from 1896 on, and wrote the provision into law in 1915. Texas in 1903 and 1905 required primaries for state offices by law, but left it up to the party whether or not to declare a majority or plurality vote sufficient. In 1907, the legislature specified a plurality win system; much later, it reinstated the run-off system. The Louisiana legislature passed a majority-vote requirement in 1906. After a particularly racially demagogic gubernatorial campaign in Georgia in 1906, the convention delegates elected in the indirect primary for governor backed not only a constitutional convention to restrict black suffrage, but also Georgia's first statewide direct primary. Its run-off provision was modified two years later to provide that the candidate had to receive a majority of the "county unit" vote. Tennessee Democrats authorized a primary in 1908, and a run-off requirement in 1909, but after the law as a whole was voided by the courts, the majority clause was dropped. North Carolina mandated statewide primaries with a majority vote proviso in 1915.

Neither historians nor political scientists have investigated the intent of the original framers specifically on run-off requirements. There is likely to be little direct evidence about their purpose, since they were often adopted at non-public party executive committee meetings, and even in cases when they were written into law, the surviving evidence from state legislative records will probably not be conclusive. None of the southern state assemblies recorded debates or printed committee reports; newspaper stories on any but the most controversial amendments are usually uninformative; and few legislators left collections of their papers. There was lots of press discussion about the general principles of primaries and conventions, but little on such specific topics as the run-off.

Popular discussions stressed not only the party-strengthening features of primaries, but also the shift in control toward "the people"—loyal white Democrats—which the primary allegedly fostered. These two purposes were, of course, completely complimentary. Had the primary not quieted protests against clique or "ring" domination, it would not have been an effective means of confining dissent within the Democratic party.

The indirect evidence from the pattern of adoptions of the run-offs suggests that the racial motives for choosing the device were hardly absent. South Carolina, which had the largest proportion of blacks of any state in 1900, was the first to put the statewide primary and the run-off into regular use. The South Carolina Democratic convention that proposed the scheme also called for state constitutional action to disfranchise blacks. Mississippi, which had the second largest percentage of blacks, became the first state to mandate the run-off primary by law, and Alabama acted by party rule in the same year. Florida, still over 40 percent black at the turn of the century, held its first run-off in 1904, and Louisiana, third in black proportion, acted by law in 1906. Among the eleven ex-Confederate states, only Arkansas in the Deep South and the border state of Virginia, its machine and anti-machine factions solidified early, never instituted the double primary during the first two decades of this century. No northern state, not even such uncompetitive ones as Maine, Vermont, and Kansas, ever experimented with run-off primaries.

In sum, then, the run-off should be seen as a device intended to strengthen the primary itself as a means of solidifying the southern Democratic parties against opposition, and particularly opposition by blacks or through appeals to blacks.

SOUTHERN VOTER REGISTRATION, 1980-84

At last, up-to-date registration figures for the South are available. They show clearly the upsurge in black registration—especially in contrast to the mixed picture for whites.

State	White Registration			Black Registration		
	1980	1984	Change	1980	1984	Change
Alabama	1,700,000	1,664,000	-36,000	350,000	482,000	+132,000
Arkansas	1,056,000	964,000	-92,000	130,000	155,000	+25,000
Florida	4,331,000	4,337,000	+6,000	489,000	517,000	+28,000
Georgia	1,800,000	1,787,000	-13,000	450,000	512,000	+62,000
Louisiana	1,550,000	1,609,000	+59,000	465,000	535,000	+70,000
Mississippi	1,152,000	1,144,000	-8,000	330,000	406,000	+76,000
No. Carolina	2,314,000	2,369,000	+55,000	440,000	565,000	+125,000
So. Carolina	916,000	848,000	-68,000	320,000	331,000	+11,000
Tennessee	2,200,000	2,082,000	-118,000	300,000	348,000	+48,000
Texas	6,020,000	6,042,000	+22,000	620,000	720,000	+100,000
Virginia	1,942,000	1,908,000	-34,000	360,000	378,000	+18,000
Total	24,981,000	24,754,000	-227,000	4,254,000	4,949,000	+695,000

Source: Data from *American Political Report*, May 18, 1984. Some data from the Voter Education Project.

The Debt of Developing Nations

by Toni Schmiegelow

(The author is a lending officer at Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company in New York.)

Nearly 100 African, Asian, and Latin American nations together owe at least \$700 billion to banks in the industrial world—a sum more than double the value of the capital controlled by these banks. This debt has become the subject of considerable attention for several reasons: concern that the international banking system may fail if these loans are not repaid; uncertainty about the credit-worthiness of Third World countries; and fear that the banks may refuse to extend additional credit to these countries. In some quarters the situation is viewed as a crisis.

Bail-out or Good Business?

According to international economist John P. Lewis, a former member of the Council of Economic Advisors, the international banking system is in no danger of collapse. Lewis's optimism is based on several countermeasures being taken to remedy the situation. For example, when Argentina recently neared default on its \$500 million interest payments, representatives of U.S. banks, the Treasury Department, and the International Monetary Fund, along with Argentina and other Latin American countries, hammered out an eleventh-hour solution. Their plan called for Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, and Columbia to put up \$300 million, with repayment guaranteed by the U.S. Treasury Department, provided Argentina reached agreement with the International Monetary Fund on reorganizing its economy. To complete the package, Argentina agreed to contribute \$100 million from its own foreign exchange reserves, and 11 major banks, 5 American and 6 foreign, offered to loan Argentina \$100 million at extremely low interest rates.

In another countermeasure, Congress passed a bill in November 1983 that increased by \$8.4 billion the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Congressional Quarterly described this measure as Congress' "biggest legislative deal of 1983," because it combined in a single bill the increased contribution to the IMF, which the Reagan administration wanted, and a \$15.6 billion housing authorization sought by Democrats. This odd linkage resulted from protracted negotiations involving House and Senate leaders and administration officials, most notably White House Budget Director David A. Stockman and Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan. The final compromise attests to the importance the administration attached to its objective in the deliberations: in order to secure the IMF funding, the White House accepted a housing bill it otherwise opposed.

Opponents of the increased funding have branded it a bail-out of big American banks, which will lose billions if loans they made to the Third World are not repaid. Critics argue that these institutions alone should shoulder the risks inherent in their business and charge that the funding measure was drafted to ensure major U.S. banks a handsome profit, since Third World countries will use the IMF funds to repay high-interest loans.

The Reagan administration and other supporters of the IMF increase hold that Third World countries are dependent on the fund's resources to prevent

economic collapse and, further, that U.S. exporters require the maintenance of stable economies in these countries to ensure markets for their goods.

Another, occasional, remedy for Third World debt problems is so-called "bridge financing," short-term financing arranged by the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), a Swiss-based institution whose purpose is to foster international monetary cooperation. When a debtor nation is unable to make scheduled repayments and requests debt rescheduling and additional loans from the IMF, BIS secures short-term loans for that nation from the central banks of various industrialized nations. These loans are repaid immediately with a portion of the new IMF funds. This measure was used recently in both Mexico and Brazil.

Lewis also points to other, more permanent solutions to the debt crisis through structural changes in debtor nations to balance spending and revenues. Such changes include devaluation of national currencies, reductions in imports and domestic food subsidies, and the scaling down of many state-run organizations, airlines and steel industries among them. But this approach assumes—implausibly—that it is possible to enforce severe belt-tightening policies in countries where belts are already tight without causing serious and perhaps dangerous political problems.

In the long run, such structural changes will have to be accompanied by a more even balance of trade between developing and industrialized nations. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) has noted that this combination would lessen the risk of political upheavals and put Third World countries in a better position to repay their debt, thereby reducing the risk of a worldwide banking crisis.

Repayment Problems

Were Third World countries more credit-worthy years ago when the banks extended so much credit? Or were the banks, newly flush with OPEC cash, over-eager to turn these abundant deposits into profit-making loans? Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan is inclined toward the first alternative; he sees the current problem not as a sudden development but as a result of economic policies followed over the past two decades.

Others—including some members of Congress who opposed the increased IMF funding and some bankers—attribute the present situation to the greed of major banks. One group of former bankers complained to *Businessweek* magazine that they were pressured into making loans to Third World countries because growth and profits from such loans had already been budgeted. The chief Latin American economist for a major New York bank recalled that the bank went ahead with loans to Brazil even after he advised his chairman that Brazil's appetite for foreign loans was excessive.

In either case, during the inflationary times of the 1970s, most less-developed countries (LDCs) were able to borrow large amounts of money easily, which they did. They borrowed primarily from large commercial banks in the industrial countries, and by the middle of 1982, non-OPEC developing countries had run up debts of over \$500 billion—more than

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Telescope

Glenn Watts Joins JCPS Board of Governors

The Joint Center for Political Studies' newest board member, Glenn E. Watts, is president of the Communications Workers of America and has been actively involved with the union for more than 40 years. He is chairman of the AFL-CIO's public relations committee and co-chair of the Democratic National Committee's Labor Advisory Council. Watts is a trustee of the Ford Foundation; president of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International (an organization of communications workers throughout the world); and secretary-treasurer of the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

Conference on "The Civil Rights Act: Two Decades Later"

The Joint Center will host a conference commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act on June 28th and 29th at the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, D.C. The Conference will consist of three parts: "Basic Goals and Public Attitudes" will be discussed on Thursday morning; "The Effects of the Civil Rights Act," on Thursday afternoon; and "Politics, Coalitions, and Civil Rights," on Friday morning. See Perspective for some details on the program. Attendance is free; for further information, call 202 626-3533.

Youth Service USA, Inc.

In communities across the country, the military is working with business, government, and civilian sectors to provide socioeconomically disadvantaged youth with job skills, under a program called Youth Service USA, Inc. The program is unlike many other job training efforts in that community-based organizations often coordinate the programs, using the services of others in the community to carry out program activities: local businesses provide jobs to graduates; the military volunteers in-kind contributions (such as use of the military base), services, and training; schools provide education and technical skills; and foundations, corporations, and state and local governments provide funds to support the program. Students receive on-the-job training in learning the skills to become auto mechanics, equipment operators, electronic technicians, CRT (cathode ray tube) operators, secretaries, and photographers.

The program was started in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1963, when a social service agency began to take groups of youngsters camping in the state parks around the city. Years later—as a way to keep youngsters off the streets during the summer after Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated—the program requested and was granted use of the vast recreational facilities—swimming pools, lakes, gymnasiums, bowling alleys, horses—of the Naval Air Station north of Memphis. The effort was enormously successful, and the program quickly expanded from purely recreational activities to include job training. Other cities soon began to organize similar efforts at their local military installations.

Youth Service USA hopes to expand the program nationwide and is looking for civilian groups and businesses that may be interested in becoming involved. For more information, contact Director of Development, Youth Service USA, Inc., Youth Service Bldg., 314 South Goodlett St., Memphis, Tenn. 38117; telephone (901) 454-4900.

Debt

(Continued from page 10)

five times their foreign debt level of 1973. Then conditions changed.

Repayment problems were brought on by several factors: sharp increases in the price of oil, which required the LDCs to borrow even more; general inflation, which led to higher interest rates on this increasing debt; and then a worldwide depression, which thwarted the LDCs' expectations that inflation would allow them to sell their goods for higher prices. An oil glut also reduced the revenues of oil-exporting LDCs. For all LDCs, then, debt continued to increase and the ability to repay decreased.

Needed: A "North-South" Dialogue

The need for a solution to the problem of Third World debt has focused increased attention on the "North-South" dialogue, a term used to describe aid and trade negotiations that have been going on since the early 1960s between LDCs and wealthy industrialized nations. (Most LDCs lie south of the Equator; most wealthy nations are found in the northern latitudes.) Initiated by the LDCs and held under the auspices of UNCTAD, these discussions have focused on ways of creating higher prices and a more open market for commodities such as sugar, coffee, and cocoa that are exported from the South to the North.

These issues came to a head after the countries in the South found that prices for oil and manufactured goods—products they needed to import—were rising disproportionately to the prices their exports were able to command. In some cases, industrialized nations had set up protectionist measures that made the LDCs' commodities less competitive and created a trade situation in which LDCs spent more than they were earning. To finance this trade deficit, these countries were obligated to borrow from commercial banks or seek alternative forms of aid from the wealthy nations, which only increased the original imbalance.

To remedy this imbalance, the North-South negotiators have been considering the establishment of a new international financial system. The South favors the creation of a commodity cartel, modeled on the OPEC oil cartel, which would allow Third World nations to control prices and distribution.

In the past, the LDCs have employed a strategy of confrontation at the discussion table. Recently, however, a new, more moderate tack has guided their talks. The LDCs have also shifted their focus from broad-reaching structural changes to more specific, immediate objectives such as automatic debt relief, an increase in world liquidity through the International Monetary Fund, greater aid and private bank lending to developing nations, and freer access to northern markets for their exports.

This approach may well have been devised to take advantage of the developed world's concern about a banking crisis. The industrialized world has acknowledged its interdependency with LDCs: it needs both their exports and their markets, and the banking system of the developed nations has become inextricably linked to the economic health of the Third World. This recognition of interdependency on the part of both North and South bodes well for genuine progress in resolving the debt and trade problems plaguing the Third World.

The Folly of the Subminimum Wage

by Bernard Anderson

(Dr. Anderson is director of the division of social sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation.)

The Reagan administration has submitted legislation to Congress adopting a subminimum wage as a device for reducing teenage unemployment. The National Conference of Black Mayors has endorsed the idea. This unusual combination has contributed to growing interest in this approach.

The available evidence, however, suggests that a subminimum wage would reduce neither overall youth unemployment nor minority youth unemployment in particular. A subminimum wage is bad economic policy and abominable social policy.

Many economists argue that minimum wage legislation greatly reduces youth opportunities and is especially harmful to minority group teenagers. And indeed, youth unemployment has drifted upward during the past several decades as the federal minimum wage rose to the current level of \$3.35 an hour. But to attribute the increase in youth unemployment entirely to the increase in the minimum wage would be like suggesting that the Georgetown University NCAA basketball championship was generated by the enthusiasm of Hoya fans. Obviously, other factors were also involved.

The rise in teenage unemployment has been influenced by the dramatic increase in the size of the youth and female labor forces, competition from the increasing number of immigrant workers, the declining number of semi-skilled jobs in urban areas, and the changing technology of production. Rising teenage unemployment is also related to the upward drift of unemployment for the labor force as a whole, which averaged 4.8 percent during the 1960s, 6.2 percent during the 1970s, and 8.1 percent since 1980.

The congressionally mandated Minimum Wage Study Commission conducted several careful studies of the effects of minimum wages on youth employment, and in its final report concluded that a subminimum wage would not reduce teenage unemployment significantly and would do little to increase

employment among economically disadvantaged, minority-group teenagers.

The experience under the Youth Incentive Employment Entitlement (YIEE) program supported by the U.S. Department of Labor from 1978 through 1980 also casts doubts on the potential for a subminimum wage to generate more private sector jobs for disadvantaged youth. Under the entitlement program, employers were reimbursed for all wage and benefit costs for hiring economically disadvantaged teenagers who agreed to remain in or return to school. The private sector hired only 21 percent of the 76,000 youths employed in the 17 communities in which the program operated. If private employers are reluctant to hire youth at no cost, it is difficult to believe substantially more jobs will be created by a reduction in the minimum wage.

The black mayors say it is time to experiment, and it is easy to sympathize with their frustration and desire for a solution to the continuing problem of youth unemployment. But experiments have already been done. In the last year of the YIEE, a demonstration project designed to test the effect of different subminimum wages was conducted in Baltimore and Detroit. It showed that only 1 in 10 firms eligible to employ teenagers at 25 percent of the minimum wage—and only 1 in 20 eligible to hire them at 50 percent of the minimum—actually hired low-income youth. Only about 18 percent of the firms eligible for a 100 percent wage subsidy hired a low-income teenager.

Many suggest that youth should be employed at subminimum wages to give them the training and experience necessary to increase their productivity. But, in fact, little or no useful training or experience can be obtained in the marginal, dead-end jobs likely to be filled by teenagers hired at the subminimum-wage level. Many such jobs that do offer the minimum wage now go begging because of poor working conditions and lack of opportunity for training and advancement.

The new Jobs Training Partnership Act holds much more promise of providing the kind of training and work experience youth need to get a foothold in

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Is "equal pay for comparable worth" an idea whose time has come? Women are not the only ones who think so.



Poverty and Public Policy

Federal programs have reduced poverty for older Americans more than for youth—a fact that has racial overtones.

Hungry Children in America

Is there really hunger in America? There wasn't much in the 1970s, thanks to federal programs. There is now, yet further budget cuts are proposed.

Perspective

With many signs of victory for the Jesse Jackson campaign now apparent, we must take steps to ensure that the emerging black political movement survives the approaching election and continues to expand. Blacks must use their growing political influence to help shape and implement public policies in which their interests and those of the nation converge.

How can this goal be accomplished? More blacks must seek leadership roles in the political arena. Already, the Jackson candidacy has brought some new faces into politics. Having tasted the fruits of success, these newcomers are not likely to disappear soon, and they may well attract others who were formerly uninvolved in the nation's system of governance.

Concerning the larger electorate, black leaders must find ways to excite the black community and channel its political energy into the ongoing pursuit of racial justice. The black church will undoubtedly continue to play a major role in this mobilization. So, too, will such organizations as the Voter Education Project and the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation. Our civic, fraternal, civil rights, and professional organizations, which have recently become more politically active, can also make an enormous contribution to voter education and motivation. Lastly, we should encourage the enthusiasm of our young people, many of whom have been inspired by the Jackson candidacy. Since nothing breeds success like success, the more victories blacks achieve in the political arena, the more they will want to participate.

Further expansion of the black political movement will also require some thought about other ways to keep political interest high even when there are no elections. We should consider whether a new approach is required to achieve greater influence in the public policy arena. My sense is that a new strategy will be necessary to expand our political momentum and to target it effectively.

One such strategy might involve statewide black caucuses, diverse groups of leaders who convene

to settle upon common strategies and plans of action. Caucuses of this type exist today in Arkansas, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, and Virginia. In each of these states, the black caucus exerts its influence on state and local government decisions and in the economic and political arenas. Similar organizations should be started in every state, particularly those with sizable black populations.

During presidential elections, or whenever appropriate, these statewide caucuses could come together in a powerful national coalition to voice blacks' concerns about national issues. This coalition would unite local, state, and national leaders without denying any of them an opportunity to play an important role. State and local officials would direct efforts concerning state and local matters, while national figures, informed and supported by state leaders, would seek to influence national policy and political decisions.

This arrangement need not pull people out of other organizations—such as political parties—which they support. Nor does it distinguish between liberals and conservatives, elected officials and other leaders, scholars and activists. In fact, its genius is its capacity to bring all these elements together to determine the best goals and strategies for blacks to pursue. Furthermore, it begins to reconcile competing interests within the black community by having representatives of these various interests work together toward a larger goal.

Following the 1984 elections, the search for new ways to increase black political influence will begin in earnest. There is a growing sense that more than the ballot is required.

Through politics, policy analysis and recommendations, coalition building, and other means, such as statewide black caucuses, we must pursue our interests vigorously even after the contest for the presidency has been decided.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Poverty and Public Policy

by William O'Hare

(The author is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

The impact of slowly changing public policies often goes unrecognized, allowing the differential effects of these policies on racial groups to remain hidden. For example, gradual changes in some income maintenance and social welfare policies over the past 25 years have benefited whites considerably more than blacks. This is not because of overt discrimination, but because the demographics of the black and white populations are different, and income maintenance policies have helped older Americans far more than youth.

Poverty and Older Americans

When the war on poverty began in the early 1960s, the elderly suffered one of the highest levels of poverty of any group in the society. In 1959, the first year for which the official government poverty measure was used, about 35 percent of people over 65 had incomes below the poverty threshold, compared to only 22.4 percent of the total population. By 1982, however, the poverty rate among the elderly had dropped to 14.6 percent, which was slightly lower than the overall rate of 15 percent.

This drop can be partly attributed to government programs, such as Medicare and Social Security, that provide assistance to older Americans. Recent studies have shown that if all government benefits were eliminated, the poverty rate of the over-65 population would jump to nearly 55 percent. Social Security payments became particularly helpful to the elderly poor after 1974, when they were linked to the rate of inflation. This linkage was one of the most important social welfare policy changes in the post-World War II era.

Children

While the elderly have done relatively well over the last 25 years, children have not. In 1959, the poverty rate for those under 18 was 26.9 percent—1.2 times the rate for the total population. This percentage fell to 21.3 percent in 1982, but the new figure was 1.4 times the poverty rate for the entire population, indicating a relative worsening of child poverty. In other words, while the poverty rate for older Americans fell from 1.57 to 0.97 times the overall rate, the poverty rate for children increased from 1.2 to 1.4 times the general figure.

Two of the factors responsible for the relative increase in poverty among children are easily identified. One is the increased number of families headed by women. These families typically have lower incomes than married-couple families or families headed by men, and the number of female-headed families has increased sharply in the past 25 years. The second factor is the slow rate of increase in welfare payments over the past 25 years. In most states, the increase in welfare payments failed to keep pace with inflation.

Government Policies and Their Effect

The primary beneficiaries of the Social Security program are the elderly poor, and the main recipients of public assistance are poor families with children. In 1982, the latest year for which figures are available, a family that received Social Security payments got an average of \$6,610, and families

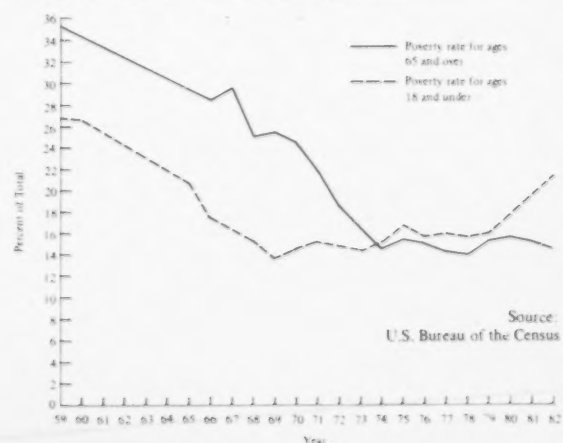
receiving public assistance averaged just \$3,089. Furthermore, increases in payment levels between 1980 and 1982 show that Social Security recipients fared much better than those who received public assistance: inflation increased 17.1 percent during this period, and the average income from Social Security grew by 23.7 percent, while income from public assistance rose by only 11.1 percent.

The reduction of poverty among the elderly and the relative increase in poverty among children have been more detrimental to blacks than whites, because blacks are overrepresented among the young and underrepresented among the elderly. According to data from the Census Bureau, 12.2 percent of the white population is 65 or over, compared to 7.8 percent of the black population. On the other hand, 34.2 percent of blacks are under 18, compared to 25.9 percent of whites.

Furthermore, the aging of the influential baby boom generation suggests that antipoverty policies and programs may focus even more heavily on the older group in the future. Persons born in the late 1940s and 1950s have shaped the outlook of the populace for several decades. In the 1950s, baby-boom demographics led to an emphasis on home and family life. The social activism of the 1960s and early 1970s was due in part to the large number of people in their late teens and twenties. And the surge of the baby-boom population into the home buying market caused the housing boom of the late 1970s.

This group is now beginning to think about and plan for retirement. Given the large number of constituents in the baby-boom generation, it is unlikely that elected officials will introduce any legislation that diminishes income security in retirement. If anything, the inclination is likely to be toward greater income protection for older Americans. But blacks will continue to be overrepresented among the population 18 years old and under and underrepresented among the elderly, because they tend to have more children and die at younger ages than whites. So, as long as government policies favor programs that diminish poverty more among the elderly than among the young, there will be an indirect and disproportionate negative impact on blacks.

Poverty rates for younger and older Americans, 1959-1982



Pay Equity

by Cynthia C. Dittmar

(Ms. Dittmar is assistant director of the Department of Political Education at the American Nurses' Association.)

Equal pay for work of comparable value, or "pay equity," is the major issue in the fight for economic justice for women. Achieving pay equity requires the elimination of wage differentials among jobs that are comparable—although not identical—based on a composite of factors including skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions. At present, occupations that are predominantly female pay far more poorly than comparable occupations that are predominantly male. The Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues has called pay equity "the women's economic issue of the eighties" because it directly addresses the reasons women continue to earn far less than men.

Although many people believe the situation of employed women has improved markedly, the facts prove otherwise. In spite of federal legislation prohibiting wage discrimination against women—notably Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Pay Act—the earnings gap between men and women has not declined over the past 30 years. In 1955, women earned 64 cents for every dollar earned by men. Today, women earn 61 cents for every dollar earned by men. On average, a woman with a college degree earns \$2000 less than a male high school dropout. In state and local governments, women earn 71 cents for every dollar earned by men. In the federal government, the ratio is 63 cents to one dollar, while in the private sector, employed women earn only 56 cents for each dollar men earn.

The persistence of this wage gap despite significant political, economic, and social change over the past several decades prompted a search for explanations and solutions. This search revealed that the primary reason women continue to earn far less than men is that the overwhelming proportion of working women—80 percent—do not work in the same jobs as men, but are concentrated in a narrow range of low-paying, sex-segregated occupations. More than half of all employed women work in occupations that are 75 percent female, and 22 percent work in jobs that are more than 95 percent female. Even among professional women, over half are employed as librarians, elementary and secondary school teachers, and registered nurses—all predominantly female occupations.

In 1981, the National Academy of Sciences released a study entitled *Women, Work, and Wages: Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value* that concluded: "Not only do women do different work than men, but also the work women do is paid less and the more an occupation is dominated by women, the less it pays." The study added that "only a small part of the earnings differences between men and women can be accounted for by differences in education, labor force experience, labor force commitment, or other human capital factors believed to contribute to productivity differences among workers."

Efforts to Achieve Pay Equity

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 describes equal work as that performed under similar working conditions and requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility. It has been applied exclusively to jobs in which men

and women perform the same work, leaving unprotected the majority of working women, who are in predominately female occupations. Furthermore, because of this narrow application, only some of the more blatant forms of wage discrimination have been eliminated.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which covers all employment practices, prohibits discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The Equal Pay Act was partially incorporated into Title VII, but until a 1981 Supreme Court decision, the applicability of this legislation to comparable—though not identical—jobs performed by men and women remained in question.

Ruling in *County of Washington et al. v. Gunther et al.*, the court established that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act does indeed apply to wage discrimination cases in which men and women do not fill identical jobs. At the same time it issued the *Gunther* decision, the Supreme Court affirmed a decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia, *IUE (International Union of Electrical Workers) v. Westinghouse Electric Corporation*, which held that the employer violated Title VII by paying predominantly female occupations less than predominantly male occupations, even though the jobs involved were not identical.

Also in 1981, the U.S. District Court for Western Pennsylvania ruled in *Martha L. Taylor et al. v. Charley Brothers Company and Teamsters Local 30* that the employer had discriminated against women by assigning them to different jobs than men and paying them lower wages.

Recently, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) won a suit against the State of Washington (*AFSCME v. State of Washington*), which alleged a violation of Title VII, charging that the state paid women in predominantly female occupations less than men in comparable, but predominantly male, occupations.

Emboldened by these court decisions, pay equity advocates have begun pushing for better enforcement of federal laws pertaining to sex-based wage discrimination. In December 1983, for example, the American Nurses' Association (ANA) filed a charge with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission against the state of Illinois, charging that the state is violating Title VII by paying predominantly female occupations less than comparable male occupations. The ANA intends to pursue this claim through litigation. State and local governments, too, have marshalled an attack on sex-based wage discrimination among jobs that are not identical. A forthcoming survey published by the National Committee on Pay Equity identifies over 100 initiatives undertaken by school districts, counties, municipalities, and state legislatures in at least 30 states. These initiatives include new laws, amendments, enforcement efforts, and executive branch policy decisions. Several states have funded job evaluation studies to identify the extent of wage depression in female-dominated jobs.

In 1981, California passed a law that established a policy of setting salaries for female-dominated state jobs on the basis of the relative value of the work when compared to male-dominated jobs. In the same year, three pay equity resolutions were adopted in Hawaii. And, in the first action of its kind,

a 1982 Minnesota law established both the state's commitment to pay equity and a procedure for earmarking a certain amount of the budget for pay adjustment. These are just a few examples of state and local government initiatives.

Labor unions have also been active in the pursuit of pay equity. The issue has become a powerful stimulus for the unionization of women, largely because, on average, working women who belong to unions earn over a third more than nonunion women. Some unions have obtained or approached pay equity agreements through the collective bargaining process. For example, a 1981 agreement between a health care workers' union and the state of Connecticut requires the state to set up a special "pay equity" fund equal to 1 percent of payroll to achieve pay equity. In San Jose, California, municipal employees won pay equity raises of between 5 and 10 percent for employees in predominantly female jobs. In 1980, the Communications Workers of America and AT&T negotiated a joint labor/management Occupational Job Evaluation Committee to develop a new job evaluation system for non-managerial employees.

Controversy over Pay Equity

Although pay equity advocates have stepped up their activities, the concept of pay equity is certainly not free of controversy; in fact, it may be one of the most hotly debated issues in labor relations today.

Opponents of pay equity stress the difficulty of comparing dissimilar jobs for the purpose of setting wages—the "apples and oranges" argument. Many employers have argued that it is nearly impossible to design a system that accurately assesses the relative value to them of dissimilar jobs. Moreover, they point out the difficulty of deciding even what criteria are appropriate for comparing dissimilar jobs.

Proponents of pay equity, on the other hand, hold that dissimilar jobs may involve equivalent or comparable tasks and responsibilities. Evaluation systems do exist that analyze jobs in terms of these factors to set wages. In fact, pay equity proponents argue, employers have been making comparisons among nonidentical jobs for decades to establish

salaries; employer initiated and administered job classification systems have existed for nearly 50 years as a basis for organizational hierarchies and a justification for wage structures.

Another area of controversy involves the role of market forces—that is, the economics of supply and demand—in setting wage rates. Opponents of pay equity argue that establishing wage rates interferes with market forces. They see market forces as the most accurate gauge of the value of a particular job or skill and reject as unworkable any system of measure that overrides market considerations.

Pay equity supporters counter that current wage differentials based on market forces are simply discriminatory: the market undervalues jobs dominated by women. The most common way employers establish salaries is to pay what other employers pay for similar jobs. This is called paying market wage rates, but these general rates may well reflect prior discrimination by employers. In fact, reliance on the market wage rate is one of the principal methods of maintaining depressed wages for women.

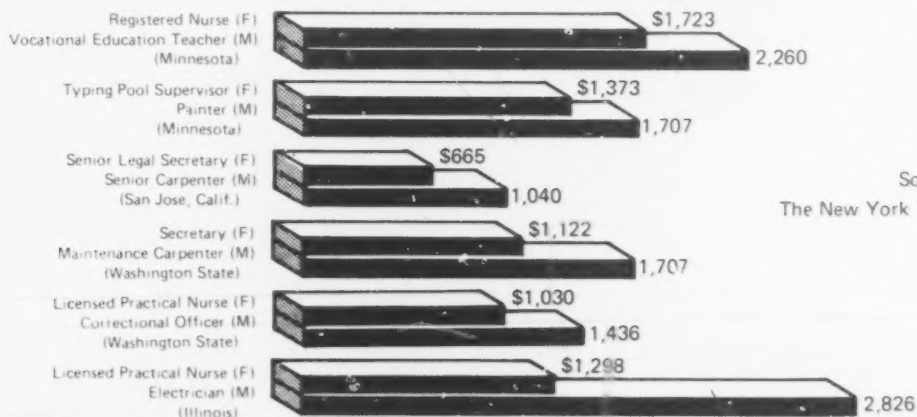
A third area of controversy concerns the costs of implementing pay equity. Opponents say that the cost of raising the wages of all predominantly female occupations would be enormous and prohibitive. According to their estimates, the cost of implementing pay equity would range from \$2 billion to \$150 billion.

Supporters of pay equity are also concerned about costs, but they assert that women who are victims of wage discrimination are currently bearing an enormous cost. More importantly, they argue, the high cost of correcting discriminatory practices is no justification for violating the law.

Pay equity, more than any other economic issue, appeals to and unites working women. And now that several candidates have targeted the women's vote, pay equity is likely to become a major political issue as well. In 1984, more women than ever before will be voting their pocketbooks. Although years are likely to pass before the controversy is resolved, the issue will remain near the top of the civil rights agenda for women's groups, labor organizations, and others interested in eliminating sex-based wage discrimination.

PAY INEQUITY

Below is a comparison of predominantly male and female occupations judged to be of comparable worth, based on a study of monthly salaries for Government jobs in designated locations.



Source:
The New York Times

Hungry Children in America

by Marian Wright Edelman

(The author is president of the Children's Defense Fund and a member of the JCPS Board of Governors.)

Federal food programs virtually eliminated hunger among children in America during the 1970s. But these programs have been cut severely over the past few years, and President Reagan proposed further cuts in his 1985 budget. The administration also raised doubts about whether America truly has a hunger problem.

In 1982, the Children's Defense Fund and the Association of Junior Leagues began Child Watch, a two-year project to train volunteers to find out how families had fared as a result of budget cuts and widespread economic problems. Child Watch volunteers conducted over 5,000 interviews in 42 states and the District of Columbia.

Our interviewers found that many families regularly exhausted their own resources by the end of each month and became dependent on community agencies that were often poorly staffed, inadequately funded, and generally unable to meet their needs. This held true in all regions of the country. In Birmingham, Alabama, for example, St. Andrew's Parish soup kitchens served 1,200 children under 16 years of age in 1981, 2,500 children in 1982, and anticipated serving 5,000 children in 1983.

Documenting the Problem

The present extent of child hunger is easily documented. Early in 1984, a commission of doctors, university leaders, and members of the religious, labor, and social services communities in New England released *American Hunger Crisis*, a study of hunger in that region. The commission reported that teams of physicians sent into New England states found malnourished, underweight children eating in soup kitchens and that "in a nation whose diet is generally excessive, malnutrition is not uncommon."

For example, the Massachusetts Department of Public Health issued a study last fall that found between 10,000 and 17,500 poor children in Massachusetts suffering stunted growth largely because of chronic malnutrition. Nearly one in five low-income children in Massachusetts is stunted, anemic, or abnormally underweight, according to the study.

Between the summer of 1981 and 1983, the number of children admitted to Chicago's Cook County Hospital for failure to thrive, diarrhea, or dehydration—conditions often linked to inadequate nutrition—rose by 24 percent. Follow-up studies found that 30 percent of all children entering the hospital's emergency room had abnormally low growth and that half of these children suffered from inadequate diets.

When malnutrition and hunger increase among children in general, we can be sure the problem is particularly acute for black children, who are more likely to be from poor families. In 1980, black infants over one year old were more than ten times as likely to die of nutritional deficiencies as white infants. Twice as many black children as white suffer from low hemoglobin levels and other indicators of

malnutrition. For example, black 6- to 11-year-olds are more than twice as likely as white children to have protein-deficient diets. They are also much more likely to lack the recommended levels of fruits and vegetables in their diet.

The Government's Response

Only President Reagan and his hunger task force remain doubtful about the existence of hunger in America and continue to ask for more "conclusive" proof. While the president proclaims that "even one hungry child is one too many," his budget for fiscal year 1985 proposes further deep cuts in food assistance for the poor. If this budget passes, some 1 million poor women, infants, and children could lose vital nutritional supplements provided by the WIC (Women, Infants, and Children) program. The Food Stamp program, half of whose recipients are children, would lose another \$600 million—even though past cuts have already excluded 1 million people and have reduced benefits for millions more. Child nutrition programs would lose another \$175 million, although thousands of poor children have already lost school breakfasts, lunches, and snacks in child care centers.

Over the past three years, we have seen a marked reduction in our government's commitment to fight domestic hunger. School lunch, school breakfast, child care, and summer food programs have been reduced 29 percent—more than \$5 billion—between fiscal years 1982 and 1985. As a result:

- The number of children receiving daily school lunches has fallen by nearly 3 million. The number of low-income children getting free or reduced-price lunches has dropped by nearly 1 million, and 70 percent of those who have lost this benefit come from families with incomes below the poverty line.
- One-half million fewer children participate in the School Breakfast Program (which is 15 percent the size of the School Lunch Program), and two-thirds of the children eliminated are from families with incomes below the poverty line.
- Day-care centers and homes may now serve a child two rather than three meals and one rather than two snacks a day regardless of how many hours the children are in care.
- Some 400,000 fewer poor children receive summer lunches.

The Food Stamp Program has been cut \$7 billion between fiscal years 1982 and 1985—\$2 billion in fiscal year 1984 alone. In addition to the 1 million recipients who lost all benefits, 20 million have had their benefits reduced. The average gross income of households that receive food stamps is now just \$4,275 a year (including federal and state welfare assistance), with average cash assets of just \$62.

"The administration intends no meaningful response to the hunger crisis," concluded the *American Hunger Crisis*, the New England study. Sadly, that is a long way from where our national government stood less than 20 years ago. Then, hunger was still considered a cruel and unnecessary condition in a prosperous country and its alleviation a government responsibility.

Telescope

New JCPS Publications on Voting, Economics

Three new Joint Center publications are now available on subjects on which there has recently been a tremendous amount of public discussion—black voting and the black family.

Mobilizing the Black Community

The right candidate may spark the interest of blacks in an election campaign, but success in getting them to the registration booths and then to the polls depends largely on campaign workers, volunteers, and their use of the many campaign strategies at their disposal. Which methods are the most effective? What type of volunteers are the most productive?

Mobilizing the Black Community: The Effects of Personal Contact Campaigning on Black Voters, written by political consultant Paul Carton, is the first study to concentrate exclusively on the effects of personal contact campaigning in a black community (Detroit, Michigan) in the United States. Mr. Carton examines several types of voter contacting approaches—walk/talk literature distribution, using party vs. nonparty volunteers, and election-day get-out-the-vote efforts—to determine their effect on black voter behavior. His analysis and recommendations for mobilizing the black community should prove invaluable to anyone interested in maximizing voter turn out in predominantly black jurisdictions.

Copies of *Mobilizing the Black Community* are available from the Joint Center for \$4.95 each.

Minority Vote Dilution

Passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 helped alleviate two forms of electoral discrimination: disfranchisement and candidate diminution, which prevents minorities from running for office. But a third, more subtle, type of discrimination, minority vote dilution, has only begun to be challenged extensively under Section 2, as amended in 1982. Because vote dilution is often difficult to prove in a court of law, it has become the most widely practiced form of electoral discrimination today.

The Joint Center commissioned Rice University Professor Chandler Davidson, a political scientist who has worked as a consultant or expert witness in several discrimination lawsuits, to compile a volume of essays by leading experts on all aspects of this important and complex subject. Professor Davidson opens *Minority Vote Dilution* with a thorough discussion of the subject—what it is, the types of dilutionary mechanisms, how it originated, where it can be found today, and results of past efforts to eradicate it. Then, several authorities on vote dilution, including lawyers, scholars, and policy makers, analyze this persistent barrier to minority political participation. Each contributor covers a different aspect of the problem—from its origins in the nineteenth century to provisions of the 1982 Voting Rights Act that relate to vote dilution. Contributors include California Institute of Technology historian J. Morgan Kousser; Frank R. Parker, director of the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; civil rights attorney James Blacksher; Drew S. Days III, associate professor of law at Yale University and assistant attorney general for civil rights in the Carter administration; Lani Guinier, assistant counsel

of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; and the Joint Center's director of research and public policy, Milton D. Morris.

Minority Vote Dilution (298 pages) was published for the Joint Center by Howard University Press and is available in hardback for \$24.95. Copies may be ordered by writing to the Sales Department, Howard University Press, 2900 Van Ness St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, or telephoning (202) 686-6696.

Changing Patterns of Black Family Income, 1960-1982

A great deal of attention has been focused on the stagnating economic condition of the black family over the past 20 years. In *The Changing Patterns of Black Family Income, 1960-1982*, economist Henry E. Felder takes a closer look at black economic status and discovers increasing polarization within the black population. A fairly sizable and stable black middle class consists largely of black families in which both husband and wife work; these families have come close to achieving parity with white families. The growing group of black families headed by single females, on the other hand, has a median income below the poverty level and only half the median income of white female-headed households. Dr. Felder also finds that the economic situation for blacks has not actually been static over the past two decades: significant progress was made until the mid-1970s, when the black/white median income ratio reached a high of 0.62. The gains have been wiped out, however, by declines since then, and blacks as a group are thus no better off relative to whites, than they were in 1960.

Dr. Felder is acting deputy assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and a former senior research associate at the Joint Center. Copies of *The Changing Patterns of Black Family Income, 1960-1982* are available for \$4.95 each from the Joint Center.

Voting Rights

More than 20 voter registration, civil rights, and legal advocacy groups convened a conference in June to declare a national voting rights emergency in response to voting barriers still encountered by citizens in many states. Examples of such obstacles are purges of registrants from voter rolls, inconveniently located polling places, restrictive courthouse registration requirements, and unnecessarily early registration deadlines.

Several of the organizations that participated in the National Emergency Mobilization on the Right to Vote conference have filed law suits to make voting easier. Project Vote, which specializes in registering poor people on unemployment lines, in welfare offices, and in food distribution centers, has filed suit in Indiana, Missouri, Ohio, and Pennsylvania to gain access to public facilities. The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund has filed a suit charging that registration practices in Mississippi and Georgia are unconstitutional. Other organizations actively involved in striking down voting barriers include the Human Serve Fund, which also seeks to register the poor at government facilities, and the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), which is involved in activities to overturn voting barriers in Bridgeport,

... Telescope

Boston, St. Louis, Atlanta, and several other communities throughout the country. The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation (Operation Big Vote) also participated in the conference.

The Committee to Abolish Prison Slavery, a national prisoners' rights advocacy group, has launched a voter registration drive for prisoners. CAPS' 15 nationwide chapters work with government officials and other civil liberties groups to identify, educate, and register eligible voters among the nation's prison population. CAPS estimates that between 200,000 and 365,000 eligible prisoners can be registered before this year's elections. Eligible inmates are those who have committed misdemeanors, those awaiting trial, and, in most states, felons whose convictions are on appeal. According to CAPS, about 47 percent of U.S. prisoners are minorities.

JCPS Delegate Guide to Democratic Convention

The names and addresses of all black delegates and alternates to the Democratic National Convention will be published in JCPS Election Report Number 3, *Blacks and the Democratic National Convention: A Guide*. The Guide also includes the names of black members of the DNC's standing committees, the hotel assignments of all state delegations, DNC platform highlights, and valuable background on black voters and the Democratic party. It will be available at the Joint Center's office in the San Francisco Hilton. Check with the DNC or the Hilton for the room number.

As in past years, JCPS staff will be available at the office to answer questions and provide assistance to delegates, journalists, and others.

The center will also publish a guide and have an office for the Republican National Convention.

Federal Commission Reports Decline in Number of Black Graduate Students

The National Commission on Student Financial Assistance recently issued a report on the future of graduate education in America. Although the commission believes the graduate enterprise remains "fundamentally strong," it sees "signs of trouble and erosion" ahead, both in the rate of enrollment and the state of facilities and equipment, especially for minority students and minority colleges and universities.

The report, which was submitted to the president and both houses of Congress, recommends that funds be increased for all federal programs supporting minority graduate students and institutions of higher education, particularly in the areas of law, the health sciences, and the physical sciences—fields where blacks are most seriously underrepresented.

Signs of Trouble and Erosion: A Report on Graduate Education in America was prepared by the commission's Graduate Education Subcommittee, at New York University, 70 Washington Square South, New York, N.Y. 10012. John Brademas, president of NYU, chaired the subcommittee.

Wives Who Earn More Than Their Husbands

A Census Bureau Special Demographic Analysis report titled *Wives Who Earn More Than Their Husbands* shows that in 20 percent of black families, the wife was either the sole earner or the higher earning spouse. In only 11 percent of white families was this the case. In 44.4 percent of both black and white couples, the husband and wife work, with the husband earning the higher income.

Black wives used to have higher rates of labor force participation than white wives, but in recent years, the situation has reversed, as the labor force participation rate of white wives has increased faster than that of black wives.

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Behind the Scenes in San Francisco

Just back from the Democratic
National Convention, a JCPS
analyst looks at the meeting's
inner workings.

Ending Barriers to Voter Registration

An attorney for the NAACP Legal
Defense Fund discusses efforts to
make registration simple and ac-
cessible to all citizens.

Local Communications Regulation

A communications lawyer urges
local elected officials to use their
regulatory power to make cable
TV and telephone companies
more responsive to community
needs.



Perspective

Jesse Jackson's unprecedented campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination is now history, but its impact is certain to be far-reaching. That impact will be greatly reduced, however, if we fail to put into realistic perspective just what the Jackson candidacy did in fact achieve and what it could not possibly have achieved.

In his candidacy, Jesse Jackson personified an emerging political movement that has been taking shape in the black community for the past two years. Although it is too early to determine exactly what the long-term impact of the Jackson candidacy will be, some significant accomplishments are readily apparent. Certainly the effort helped create a climate favorable to the nomination of a woman for the vice presidency. And it will prompt other changes in the way the Democratic party conducts business, including the elimination of rules that prevent blacks, Hispanics, and women from exerting greater influence. In broader terms, Jackson's candidacy should stimulate renewed efforts to eliminate subtle barriers to minority political participation such as run-off primaries and dual registration requirements.

This unique campaign also provided invaluable experience to an army of new political organizers and operatives who had previously been denied all but token opportunities. These new recruits will certainly mount formidable political campaigns in the future, whether for themselves or other candidates.

With its call for a Rainbow Coalition, the Jackson candidacy emphasized anew the importance of coalition-building. Although the rainbow did not fully materialize in the 1984 primaries, it remains a powerful and attractive idea whose time has come. Also at hand is recognition of the extensive political influence wielded by the black church. Mr. Jackson reaped enormous benefits by engaging the black church and other social institutions as instruments of political mobilization.

The Democratic National Convention itself provided further evidence of the impact of the Jackson candidacy and of the black electorate generally. More blacks than ever before participated in the convention, as delegates (17.7 percent), as speakers, and as committee participants. And although it was not apparent at the convention, there was substantial black involvement in the development of the party's platform, especially the *majority planks*, which

were not debated in San Francisco. The strength of the party's stands on "justice," "empowerment," South Africa, and Third World policies should be attributed in good measure to black participation.

What was debated in San Francisco, of course, were Jesse Jackson's four minority platform planks, three of which were soundly defeated. There has been a lot of complaining about the defeat of these planks, which many believe represent the mainstream of Democratic thinking. But looking back, blacks have no cause to feel bad about losing this fight: they could not have won it in the first place.

Jackson's minority platform planks didn't stand a chance for two reasons. First, they went against the grain of the strategy that Walter Mondale and other party leaders, including some blacks, wanted to develop through the convention. Their goal was to unify the party, with the support of white southerners and conservatives very much intact, and to reduce Mr. Mondale's vulnerability to President Reagan's charge that he is a big spending liberal who is a captive of special interest groups. The Mondale strategy may or may not work, but there is nothing to suggest that it is anti-black.

The second reason the Jackson planks failed is that Jackson simply did not have enough votes to force a different outcome, especially in the face of collaboration between Mondale and Hart delegates. As a matter of fact, when it was Jackson forces who collaborated with Hart supporters, as they did on some foreign policy platform planks and in the Rules Committee, they were quite successful—once again demonstrating the crucial importance of coalition politics.

By focusing our attention on fights we could not win, we may belittle all that we did win. And down the road, we might fall victims to our own misperceptions, if blacks withdraw from politics because they feel their efforts really make no difference. Rather, we should say, as the Reverend Jackson did, "it's not just an election to win Victory on one level is watching our community come together. Part of our mission was to broaden the base of our leadership and bring about a new level of unity Victory is telling our children, Yes you can!"

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Behind the Scenes in San Francisco

by Thomas E. Cavanagh

(The author is a research associate at the Joint Center.)

It was quite a show in San Francisco: bright lights, balloons, flags, even indoor fireworks. The press came expecting a coronation, and by and large, that is what they reported. But there was more to this year's Democratic convention than was apparent from the four-night miniseries on network television.

If the proceedings seemed to lack suspense, that was by design. Because the key decisions were made out of view of the cameras, the focus of the prime-time audience remained on the speeches throughout the week. As it happened, the speeches were unusually good, highlighted by Mario Cuomo's eloquent keynote and Jesse Jackson's spellbinding address. But turning the convention into a well-orchestrated television show required considerable preparation, maneuvering, and quenching of fires in the political woods.

Setting the Scene

To project an image of party unity to the television audience, the delegates on the floor must be willing to play their assigned roles as the supporting cast in a script written by the prospective presidential nominee. Yet the convention always has the potential to turn into an actual decision-making body on live, coast-to-coast, prime-time television. Preventing such an uncontrollable turn of events requires all the ingenuity and muscle at a politician's disposal. Both were amply displayed in San Francisco.

In Ronald Reagan's eyes, Walter Mondale may be "so far left" that he has "left America." But at the Democratic convention, Mondale stood at the center of both the party structure and its ideological spectrum. This was the reality to which all of the actors in San Francisco had to accommodate themselves.

Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart led the insurgent forces who were on the outside looking in. Ideologically speaking, the progressive, minority-dominated Jackson movement may have had little in common with the neoliberal, Yuppie*-dominated Hart movement. But in terms of "ins" and "outs," both had more in common with one another than either had with the Mondale forces. Their unity of interest overcame their ideological differences at many key points in the political maneuvering.

The Floor Fight

For the first time in many years, there were no credentials disputes that were referred to the floor of the convention. The Rules Committee report also passed without a floor fight. Under a compromise accepted by all three presidential candidates, the committee voted to establish a "Fairness Commission" to revise the delegate selection rules for 1988 (see back page). Although the Rules Committee guidelines are not binding on the Fairness Commission, they embody the consensus that resulted from protracted negotiations and thus will probably be given great weight in the drafting of the 1988 rules. In agreeing to the guidelines, Mondale sought to produce party harmony in 1984 by accepting many of the changes sought by Jackson and Hart, at the risk of diminishing the influence of his

own base of support among labor unions and party and elected officials in 1988.

With credentials and rules disputes out of the way, the only real controversy that was referred to the full convention was over the platform. Jackson supported four platform minority reports (i.e., proposed amendments), advocating the use of quotas in certain types of affirmative action programs, elimination of the runoff primary, "no first use" of nuclear weapons, and a real cut in defense spending. A Hart-backed minority report restricting the use of American military forces was also scheduled for a vote.

The platform fight was scheduled for Tuesday afternoon of convention week, before live network television coverage would begin. The convention managers scheduled Jackson's speech for early Tuesday evening, prime-time on the East Coast, after the platform voting was complete, to ensure that he would not have a chance to sway the delegates with a speech before the platform votes were taken. This schedule had the added effect of pressuring Jackson's delegates not to mount a lengthy floor fight during the platform debate; for if the platform voting ran overtime, it could knock Jackson's speech out of prime time. Such calculations carry much weight in the television era.

Mondale ensured his control over the floor through an intricate series of deals arranged in the days and hours before the platform fight. The key factor was Hart's insistence on passage of his minority report on military intervention. In return for Mondale accepting the Hart plank, Hart agreed to instruct his delegates to vote against the Jackson planks on defense spending and the runoff primary, which Mondale considered the most politically troublesome. Mondale's advisers felt that proposing a cut in defense spending would leave the nominee vulnerable to Reagan charges of being soft on defense, while condemning the runoff might have led to an open revolt by southern white party leaders.

All three contested minority reports lost by similar margins: 2216 to 1406 on "no first use," 2592 to 1128 on defense spending, and 2501 to 1253 on the runoff. The voting patterns by delegation were similarly consistent. The strongholds of opposition were in such Mondale-dominated delegations as Delaware, Hawaii, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, and Texas.

Many of the Hart delegates did not appear to take their candidate's instructions very seriously, and voted a more progressive line than Hart advocated. In addition to the Jackson-dominated District of Columbia and Louisiana delegations, the highest vote proportions in favor of the minority reports came from such Hart-dominated delegations as California, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Oregon, and Utah. This alignment repeated the pattern seen in the Platform and Rules Committee voting prior to the convention, when Hart and Jackson delegates frequently lined up together against the Mondale forces.

The shared sense of battling against Mondale also led to other forms of cooperation between Hart and Jackson delegates. Many of the Hart delegates waved Jackson banners during Jackson's speech on Tuesday, and many of Jackson's delegates returned the favor during Hart's speech the following day. Some Hart delegates even handed their credentials to Jackson alternates to enable them to be on the floor during Jackson's speech.

After the first three minority report votes, Hart's platform plank was approved overwhelmingly. Then a last-minute compromise on the affirmative action plank was brought before the convention and passed by a voice vote. The

*Young urban professionals

compromise deleted all reference to quotas (which the majority platform had explicitly opposed) and called for "verifiable measures" of compliance with affirmative action guidelines. Whether "verifiable measures" meant quotas appeared to be in the eye of the beholder; the Jackson forces said yes, the Mondale forces, no, so one can conclude that they agreed to disagree.

Minorities at the Convention

One could not help but be struck by the black presence at this year's convention. There were 697 black delegates, a full 17.7 percent of the total—records on both counts. Jackson's campaign was a major factor, of course. Not only did he bring in over 300 black delegates in support of his candidacy; he also caused the other candidates to build up their own black delegate slates as visible evidence of black support. Another major factor was the party's affirmative action rules, which have become more and more stringent over the years, and which this year aimed at achieving minority representation in proportion to "presence in the Democratic electorate"—for blacks, about 20 percent.

Hispanics and women of all races were also prominent players in the convention drama. Hispanics threatened to boycott the first ballot of presidential voting to underscore their top priority: a firm commitment from party leaders to kill the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill. The boycott move fizzled when the Hispanic delegates supporting Mondale made clear their intention to hold firm for their candidate. (However, the defeat of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill became a *fait accompli* when Congress reconvened after the convention. New head counts showed that Democratic support for the bill in the House of Representatives had become too soft to ensure passage of the final version.)

The women's movement was overjoyed at Walter Mondale's selection of a woman as his running mate. But here, as in many other instances at the convention, blacks also had conflicting emotions. There was pleasure that a candidate for national office had been selected from outside the traditional pool of white males, and pride in Jesse Jackson's significant role in opening up the process. But the vice-presidential choice awakened old resentments that white women have often walked through doors opened painfully by blacks. There was also displeasure over the fact that Mondale had not interviewed a black woman for the vice presidency.

Relations between blacks and white females were also somewhat strained by the women's role in the platform fight. The National Organization for Women (NOW) could have served as a lever to pry some women's votes away from Mondale's control on the minority planks. NOW had endorsed all five minority reports before the convention. With Geraldine Ferraro on the ticket, however, NOW was much less inclined to pressure Mondale, whom it had endorsed earlier, on the floor. The day before the platform fight, NOW abandoned its efforts to lobby delegates on the floor and decided to work behind the scenes for a compromise on the affirmative action plank.

The black Mondale delegates, over 200 strong, and the 70 black delegates committed to Gary Hart were constantly cross-pressured by their own candidates and the Jackson forces. "Cast a vote that you can be proud to tell your grandchildren about," they were exhorted by Jackson and his supporters. Nevertheless, Mondale's black delegates generally followed their candidate's instructions. This led to some serious tensions among black delegates, which

reached a crescendo when Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young unexpectedly took the podium to argue against abolishing the runoff primary. The mood turned ugly as many of Jackson's delegates tried to drown out Young's remarks with booing.

The following morning, Coretta Scott King was heckled when she tried to defend Young before the Black Caucus. This was too much even for many of Jackson's backers. With tears in his eyes, Jackson himself tried to calm the crowd and urged that all black leaders be accorded respect even in the heat of controversy.

Many black Mondale delegates, in fact, shared a sense of frustration with the Jackson delegates: everyone but blacks seemed to be coming away from the convention with a clear victory. Women got Ferraro; Mondale's attempt to install Bert Lance as party chair was clearly a gesture to the white South; Hart won his platform plank on military intervention.

The frustration was partly a result of timing: blacks did receive some important commitments, but before the convention opened. The rules for 1988 should improve the chances of any future black presidential candidates and others supported by minority groups. The platform takes strong stands on civil rights, South Africa, and restoring cuts in social spending. Moreover, blacks had achieved a record level of involvement in all aspects of the party's operation. The progress is most striking when the 17.7 percent black delegate representation is contrasted with the 2.8 percent of just 20 years ago. Nevertheless, the absence of any clear-cut victories during the week of the convention itself left many black Democrats feeling that their party was once again taking them for granted.

"Our Time Has Come"

These and other tensions formed the backdrop to Jesse Jackson's 55-minute speech to the convention Tuesday night. Jackson had skillfully built suspense in the days and weeks before the convention over what his stance would be toward Mondale and the party as a whole. Thus, with the defeat of Jackson's three platform planks, the convention crowd was unsure what to expect from him.

His voice husky with emotion, Jackson began on a conciliatory note, offering his support to the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. He then launched into a remarkable call for healing the divisions between blacks and Jews that had been aggravated by the controversies surrounding his campaign:

"If in my low moments, in word, deed, or attitude, through some error of temper, taste, or tone, I have caused anyone discomfort, created pain, or revived someone's fears, that was not my truest self. . . ."

The sight of a presidential candidate offering such an unprecedented public act of contrition left many in the convention hall overcome with emotion. Jackson's intensity reached new heights toward the end of his address, as he declared:

"Our time has come. Our faith, hope, and dreams will prevail.

"Our time has come. Weeping has endured for the night. And now, joy cometh in the morning.

"Our time has come. No graves can hold our body down.

"Our time has come. No lie can live forever.

"Our time has come."

Maneuvering continued apace after the convention, as Jackson sought to find a role for some of his key supporters.

(Continued on page 8)



Making It as a Black Officer

(On May 3, 1984, the Joint Center for Political Studies held a roundtable on "Keys to Success in the Officer Corps." Funding was provided by the Ford Foundation. Colonel Wade S. Gatling, formerly a senior fellow at the Joint Center and now assigned to the Pentagon, organized the conference and wrote this report.)

"I was commissioned in 1945 as a 19-year-old," said **Lieutenant General Julius Becton, Jr.**, "and in those days the Army was looking for a lieutenant who could lead a platoon of infantry against an armed enemy. They couldn't have cared less whether you were a math major or had a certain SAT score. Today, we expect that young lieutenant to be literate, comfortable with complex systems, at ease in formal settings, and able to deal with a whole array of social problems."

Addressing a roundtable convened by the Joint Center for Political Studies, General Becton, who retired recently as Deputy Commanding General of the Army's Training and Doctrine Command, was reflecting on his 38 years as an officer and the change during those years in what the military expects of its officers. The forum, "Keys to Success in the Officer Corps," explored the kinds of information and insights that young black officers—and college students preparing to enter the officer corps—need to succeed in the military.

The participants included retired and active senior officers (some of whom are currently involved in military training programs and personnel systems), Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) cadets from historically black colleges (HBC), scholars, and other policy analysts.

Some specific concerns prompted the convening of this roundtable, which was chaired by **Louis E. Martin**, assistant vice president of Howard University and a member of the Joint Center's Board of Governors. First, despite encouraging growth in the number of black officers during the past decade (from less than 3 percent of the total to nearly 6 percent), the attrition rate for blacks in the lowest officer grade has exceeded that of their white counterparts (see January 1984 *Focus*). What's more, the promotion rate of black officers, young black officers especially, has at times been significantly lower than that of white officers.

Another concern is that a large number of black officers are "first generation" college graduates and the first in their families to enter white-collar professions. Those who join complex bureaucracies such

as the military without being fully aware of what is expected of them or of the standards of professional behavior may fail without ever fully understanding why.

General Becton's remarks about the requirements of commissioned service both embraced the overall theme of the roundtable and foreshadowed the issues to be examined at the meeting: the education of officer candidates, the difference between a job and a profession, social awareness and responsibility, competence, standards, and behavior. The first of these, the academic preparation of the prospective officer, sparked the initial debate.

Preparation: Academic and Otherwise

"Maybe the military's different, but if I got a resume from somebody who graduated from college with a C average, I would simply ditch it," said **Edwin Dorn**, deputy director of research at the Joint Center. Dorn was responding to **Colonel Robert Dinkins**, professor of military science at Howard University, who said cadets could qualify for attendance at summer camp, a six week training session on an actual military base, and advancement to their final year of ROTC training with only a C average. Dinkins explained that the services are interested in the whole person, not just the academic person.

Holly Carter, director of the Meserve Center for Asian Studies at Northeastern University and a member of the Advisory Committee to the Joint Center's clearinghouse on blacks in the military, joined Dorn in expressing reservations. "That is so different from the way I go about preparing black students at Northeastern. I tell them that it's fine to be a whole person, but when you get out in the job market, it's competence, excellence, and quality of performance that get you in the door." With any other approach, Carter said, you're doing your students a disservice. But Dinkins insisted that while academic achievement is essential, other important factors such as commitment, attitude, self-discipline, and, especially, potential for leadership are not necessarily revealed by college grades. Favorable assessments in these areas and fulfillment of university academic requirements are necessary to begin a military career, he said.

Colonel John Bordeaux, professor of aerospace studies at Howard University, agreed: "I have cadets with a C average who are solid performers, and I have cadets with a 3.5 average (B+) who are less



Left to right: General Elmer Brooks, Colonel Robert Dinkins, Colonel Rosetta Armour-Lightner, Captain James Gilchrist, Devonda Byers, Colonel Wade Gatling, Dr. Holly Carter, General J. T. Boddie, Jr.



Left to right: Milton Morris, General Julius Becton, Jr., Louis Martin

than solid performers." Grade point average may reflect academic achievement, he noted, but not necessarily a willingness to "put the shoulder to the rock and push."

General Becton suggested that other factors, such as the standards of the institution and demands of the curriculum, must be considered when evaluating academic performance. And retired Air Force Brigadier General J.T. Boddie, Jr. reminded the group that "for students who must work their way through school—as many blacks must—that C average may represent greater academic potential than is apparent."

Colonel Frederic Leigh from the Army Chief of Staff's Office put the issue of the "C cadet" into perspective: he pointed out that only a small percentage of those who are commissioned are C students. He also said that the professional military education requirements serve to weed out unqualified participants.

This discussion closed on a cautionary note. Lieutenant General Arthur Gregg, who retired as the Army's Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, said that while the notion of the whole person is certainly appropriate in commissioning programs, insistence on the pursuit of

academic excellence must not be abandoned. Gregg warned that a young officer who has a cavalier approach to academics in college cannot afford to adopt such an approach to commissioned service.

Milton Morris, JCPS director of research, shared General Gregg's concern. He noted that, in view of the military's continuing demand for highly skilled and well-educated officers, universities and ROTC programs must remain committed to producing academically strong graduates and officers. Given the educational experiences some blacks bring to college, Morris said, the challenge facing these institutions will continue to increase.

Cadets and Black Colleges

"Does coming from a black ROTC program represent a handicap that one has to overcome?" asked Dr. Morris. Commander Curtis Reaves, a special assistant for minority affairs in the Navy, noted that "when you consider the low national ranking of many HBC's by publications such as Barron's, graduates of black schools may have a lot to overcome."

Colonel Dinkins held that being commissioned at an HBC is not a hindrance, because those evaluating a young officer are not likely to be aware of the comparatively poor performance of HBC students at summer camp. Others disagreed, saying that such information does circulate among higher level officers. Said General Becton: "Don't deceive yourself into thinking they don't know who is from Prairie View and who is from Texas A&M."

General Gregg then worried aloud that the tendency to focus exclusively on the weaknesses of the HBC graduate may contribute to the perception of black academic inferiority. Gregg also asserted that despite its location, racial composition, or other characteristics, a school can develop a reputation for producing excellent officers if there is an institutional and a service commitment to do so.

General Becton said three things must occur to build such a reputation: (1) universities must accept full responsibility for the quality of their graduates (i.e., if graduates are deficient in basic skills, the institutions must look inward for some of the causes); (2) the services must assign only top quality faculty and staff to ROTC detachments; and (3) these detachments must emphasize the preparation of quality officers, not just good cadets.

To cadets fearful that an HBC's poor reputation may have a negative impact on their careers, Togo D. West, Jr., former general counsel to the secretary of defense, offered some advice: regardless of the source of commission, there are many factors that influence personal and professional assessments of an officer, including the performance of predecessors and biases about region, age, and, of course, race. "Whether these biases help or hinder, they are there, and it is still your obligation to make your own record."

The First Assignment

"For me the first assignment was a shock," revealed General Boddie. He had been flying since he was 16 and already had his private license, so he was ready for the flying portion of pilot training. But the academics, the initial exposure to engineering courses, and the level and intensity of instruction proved his biggest obstacle, he said.

Boddie said that many young officers today experience a similar shock when they first encounter the academics and competition of specialty training. Those unprepared for demanding coursework and full classroom days, plus evening and weekend study, may have considerable difficulty. But the outcome needn't be failure, said Boddie: "You need hard work and self-discipline; I cloistered myself for one year, gave myself Saturday night to do what young lieutenants do, and graduated number one in my class."

Brigadier General Elmer Brooks, an Air Force officer assigned to the Pentagon, said, "One of the first hurdles a new officer must jump is that psychological hurdle of becoming a professional officer." Unlike other occupations, Brooks explained, the military is not a 9 to 5 job. "It's full time, on duty and off."

Others agreed that this commitment must begin immediately. When you first meet your commander, they advised, be ready. Find out what



William Scott, Edwin Dorn



Cadet Barbara Williams



Cadet Frederick White



Midshipman Deborah Comfort



Cadet Gary Snapp

he or she expects, not only from the commander directly, but from peers and others with whom the commander regularly interacts. Listen to them and spend time with them, professionally and socially. "And realize," General Brooks added, "that some commanders use that first meeting as a test—to see what your mettle is, to see if they can back you down, make you turn in a different direction." How do you handle such an approach? By being prepared, making sure you're right, and holding your ground, he said. "You'll find they respect you in the end for sticking to your guns."

And when your commander or other superior invites you and your spouse for drinks, it is important that *both of you be there*, advised the group unanimously. The same holds true, they said, for unit social functions and official gatherings at the clubs. "Furthermore, do not persist in isolating yourselves," Boddie added. Such behavior suggests an unwillingness, or inability, to deal with fellow professionals outside the duty setting, and can only detract from one's professional image and growth.

Broadening the discussion, senior officers recommended the correct approach to an assignment. "If you have problems communicating, especially orally, work hard to overcome them," one participant stressed. "Be responsible, take the initiative, be committed to the mission," said Bordeaux. Put your responsibility to your personnel above your personal considerations, and work to make your unit the best, Gregg urged. "Do your job, not your commander's." If you are a platoon leader, he said, it's your job to run the platoon; leave the running of the company to the commander.

Seek out tough jobs, the ones that provide the greatest visibility. Set career goals, short and long term. Be realistic and flexible when expressing assignment preferences. If you have a choice between staff officer and commander, choose commander. But always strive to excel in whatever job you get.

Attend as many schools as you can including graduate school—and complete graduate school early (before being selected for major or lieutenant commander; attending graduate school later can interfere with the fulfillment of other requirements). Complete professional military education requirements first, because these directly affect an officer's qualification for promotion.

The most important document in your file, though, is the effectiveness report; quality of performance is the principal gauge against which each officer is measured. However, the group noted, other, subtler, standards are also used in evaluating an officer. These standards, along with more personal matters, were the next subjects considered by the roundtable participants.

Men, Women, and the Military

Everyone agreed that being married to an enlisted person complicated an officer's career, but they did not all agree that such a marriage was a significant career hindrance. Some felt that despite the acknowledged complexities—difficulties with housing, assignments, and career development—the situation is manageable and, therefore, need not frustrate career progress. On the other hand, many felt that officer-enlisted marriages should be avoided. Despite efforts to manage the relationship, they cautioned, obstacles would inevitably arise—both personal and professional—which would be almost impossible to

surmount. Cadets felt that this injunction would be especially disturbing to cadets already married to enlisted persons. "To me, it's as if you're asking someone to give up a dream," said one. There was general agreement, however, that those involved in or entering such an arrangement should be fully aware of its challenges and its potential for limiting a career.

There was no disagreement on the issue of fraternization, the association of officers with enlisted personnel "under circumstances which prejudice good order and discipline." Colonel Rosetta Armour-Lightner, professor of aerospace studies at Grambling State University, observed that while there are no regulations proscribing officer-enlisted marriages, there are directives governing fraternization. She and others expressed particular concern about junior officers who, because of an egalitarian perspective, might be inclined to frequent the noncommissioned officers' club or date enlistees. Such behavior, they noted, compromises the hierarchical relationship that must exist between officers and enlistees, and, therefore, is incompatible with the standards of conduct an officer is bound to uphold.

What do you do if you're a female officer, and one of the men makes a pass at you?" asked a cadet during a break in the proceedings. "First of all, don't ignore it," answered a senior officer. What you do specifically, the cadet was told, depends on the situation—who says it, what he says, and where. For example, if an enlisted man in your unit makes a comment that is clearly inappropriate, snap him to attention and write him up. If an enlisted man from another unit makes a pass, stop him, find out his name and unit, and contact his commander.

Dealing with people of equal or higher rank can be a bit more delicate. A lieutenant cannot "dress down" a captain, "but you must make it known that his remarks are not proper." Make it clear that you're not interested, and if the man persists, consider whether he is guilty of sexual harassment, which can be handled through official complaint channels.

Later, in general session, the discussion turned to strategies for contending with discrimination of any kind: Whenever you suspect discrimination, first try to step outside of yourself and ask, "If I were not involved, how would I see this?" Then, consult with peers and others. Find out how the system works, formally and informally. Finally, if you still suspect a violation, "take the problem to your immediate superior," said Captain James L. Gilchrist, professor of naval science at Florida A&M University, who counseled cadets to resolve the problem at the lowest level within the system. If your immediate supervisor is the one you suspect is discriminating, he explained, "go through him to the next person."

Integrity

"Suppose you're returning from an overseas trip with your commander and he asks you to do something that you know contradicts customs laws. What do you do?" This was one of many scenarios the roundtable participants considered as they turned to the issues of honesty, ethics, and integrity. The situations examined ranged from blatant requests to circumvent the law to suspicions of unethical behavior by superiors. Another participant raised the question of subtle manipulation of information in support of selected points of view. "This is perhaps the most difficult kind of ethical question officers have to wrestle with—it is not quite so simple as some of the others."



Togo West



Left to right: Dr. Holly Carter, General J. T. Boddie, Jr., General Arthur Gregg, Cadet Gary Snapp

But in general, the group expressed a belief that "There are no degrees of integrity. Once you've compromised it, you can't get it back." In a questionable situation, cadets were advised, obtain as much information and advice as circumstances will permit. Occasionally a junior officer may misread or misunderstand a situation, because of inexperience or insufficient information.

After you have made your decision, however, senior officers said, "Don't relent!" Respectfully provide your reasons, they advised, and refuse to comply. Admittedly, such responses require courage and strength, "but remember," said General Boddie, "it won't get any easier as you go up the ladder and assume greater responsibility."

"Don't despair. You're not out there alone," Mr. West assured the cadets. He and others urged the prospective lieutenants to seek the counsel of peers and other officers, including their commander. Senior black officers, they noted, constitute a special source of knowledge and experience. And they urged young female officers in particular, who at times may feel social as well as professional isolation, not to try to endure alone.

In addition to locally available sources of advice and reassurance, the conferees identified three national private organizations that attend to the professional welfare of black officers: for Army officers, the ROCKS; Air Force, the Tuskegee Airmen, Inc.; and Navy, the National Naval Officers Association.

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Ending Barriers to Voter Registration

by Lani Guinier

(Ms. Guinier is assistant counsel at the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.)

An important key to increasing voter turnout by minorities is voter registration. Only 50.5 percent of the black voting-age population cast a ballot in the 1980 presidential election, yet among blacks registered to vote, 84.2 percent voted. Only 43.0 percent of voting-age blacks voted in the congressional races of 1982, but among those registered, 72.7 percent voted. But current attempts to sign up the unregistered are complicated by the many and varied state-erected barriers to simple and convenient voter registration.

Most voter registration requirements in the United States were enacted in the late 1800s to prevent blacks in the South and new immigrants in the North from voting. Although such requirements have been rationalized by the need to prevent voter fraud, most election fraud occurs in voting, not registration, and is typically committed by election officials, not private citizens. Whatever their theoretical justification, in practice these requirements serve primarily to reduce voter participation among all citizens and especially among minority and poor people.

Other western nations facilitate registration. Some of them even use house-to-house canvassing similar to our census taking. But here in the United States, restrictions have long operated to discourage broad participation in the electoral process. Statistics from states with large black populations make clear the continuing negative impact of registration restrictions: the average black-white registration discrepancy in the South is about 10 percentage points, and the number of unregistered blacks in the North ranges from several hundred thousand in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New Jersey to just under one million in New York.

Black registration has increased significantly in 1984. Many black voters have become convinced for the first time that their votes might make a difference. Further gains depend, in part, on the success of efforts to remove the burden of registering from the individual and place it on state and federal governments, where it belongs. To this end, a coalition of civil rights organizations has begun a litigation campaign to make voter registration accessible to all citizens.

The Georgia Suit

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., in cooperation with the Voter Education Project; the Georgia Chapter of Operation Push; the Southern Regional ACLU; and the Georgia State Conference of the NAACP, filed suit on June 13, 1984, against the governor, secretary of state, and State Election Board of Georgia. Filed in the federal district court for the Northern District of Georgia, our complaint charges that Georgia's restrictive voter registration procedures violate the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the First, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. The plaintiffs are black citizens who are unregistered voters and black citizens who are registered but have been denied their applications to serve as deputy registrars.

The practices we are fighting include the state's failure to ensure that counties appoint black deputy registrars; the counties' refusal to allow registration in sites central to the black community, such as churches; the state's insistence upon fixed registration sites and inflexible, time-

consuming application procedures for establishing these sites; prohibition of door-to-door registration; and maintenance of only one registration site in rural counties—a site that is closed on evenings and weekends.

In some counties, a citizen must take time off from work and drive 50 miles to the courthouse to register. And in some places, registrars insist that citizens register twice—once for city elections and once for county and federal elections.

Georgia's refusal to appoint more deputy registrars obstructs the applicants' First Amendment right to associate freely and establishes a system of prior licensing of First Amendment activity. The restrictive registration practices vary from county to county, resulting in unequal treatment of citizens in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, which forbids the abridgment of a person's citizenship rights and mandates that everyone be given equal protection of the laws. Moreover, the state's burdensome and arbitrary scheme of voter registration has a disproportionately ill effect on black citizens and thus violates the Fifteenth Amendment, which outlaws the denial or abridgment of a person's right to vote on account of race or color.

In almost half of Georgia's counties, black registration rates are significantly lower than white registration rates. In several counties, white registration is more than 20 percentage points higher than black registration. We believe that this disparity is part of the legacy of Georgia's historical discrimination against blacks. Our complaint charges that the Voting Rights Act and the First and Fourteenth amendments require the state to assume responsibility for closing the gap between black and white voter registration. Furthermore, we contend that the state's voter registration law is not narrowly tailored to promote a state interest such as preventing fraud, which is the legal argument most often used to justify such restrictive schemes.

We ultimately intend to argue that if a state requires its citizens to pre-register in order to vote, the state is under a statutory and constitutional obligation to take affirmative measures to ensure that registration is convenient and easily accessible for all of its citizens. Such affirmative measures could include automatic registration at age 18, comprehensive door-to-door registration drives, or registration by state or local employees at all state offices. Other possibilities are mass mailings of stamped voter registration cards—they could be enclosed in utility bills, for example—and registration at mass public events such as church gatherings and athletic competitions.

For now, however, we seek preliminary relief that is much less far reaching than the measures described above. Because of the approaching election and the grave need for immediate steps to make registration more accessible, we ask only that the plaintiffs and other individuals and groups be permitted to undertake voluntary efforts to fill the gap left by the defendants.

Specifically, we ask that the court order defendants to permit any registered voter to be appointed as a deputy registrar upon request. We also request the court to enjoin enforcement of state laws that limit registration to fixed locations. Under this order, volunteer deputy registrars would be able to pick up registration cards from their local registrars, assist people in completing the cards at any time or place, administer the oath to the registrant, and return the completed cards to the registrars for processing. Where it seems virtually impossible for the court to issue a ruling in time to permit these efforts before the closing date for registration, we ask that the court extend the registration period.

(Continued on page 7)

Local Communications Regulation

by Edward Hayes, Jr.

(Mr. Hayes is an attorney with the Washington, D.C., firm of Baker and Hostetler.)

Although black elected officials have become adept at using the telecommunications media to disseminate information and mold opinion, many have not yet taken advantage of the benefits available to them through local regulation of some of these media. Most media regulation is, of course, the province of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). However, the FCC has chosen not to cover certain areas, reserving them for municipalities. These areas—primarily cable television and common carrier systems—should be studied by black elected officials with an eye to drafting regulations that provide services or income for their communities.

Cable Television Systems

Cable television represents one of the most promising opportunities for such regulation by municipalities. The FCC has given local governments sole responsibility for regulating such aspects of cable systems as selection of franchise holders and supervision of construction.

There is some question, though, about the restrictions local jurisdictions can place upon the signals carried by a cable system. This issue was specifically addressed by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 18, 1984, when, in *Capital Cities Cable, Inc., et al v. Oklahoma Alcoholic Beverage Control Board*, the court declared unanimously that the FCC has sole pre-emption authority over cable signals and that the state of Oklahoma could not require operators to delete liquor advertising from their signals.

Despite this decision, the precise balance of regulation between municipalities and the FCC remains in question. Legislation pending in the House of Representatives would provide municipalities with more control over the operation of cable systems within their jurisdictions. H.R. 4103, if passed, would establish "guidelines for the exercise of Federal, State, and local authority with respect to the regulation of cable telecommunications."

In the midst of this debate over the extent of their regulatory authority, local jurisdictions have become quite interested in the prospect of owning—rather than just regulating—cable systems. At present, there are 55 publicly owned or operated cable systems in the country, most of which fit into one of four structures, each with its own advantages.

The most common form of public cable management is through the creation of a *new municipal agency*. Usually patterned after existing municipal departments, the newly created agency is empowered by the city to design and implement a cable system that would best serve community interests. The largest such undertaking, in terms of the area covered, is the Public Cable Television Authority (PCTA) of North Orange County, California.

In some communities, the municipal cable system is developed and operated by an *existing city agency*. Under this arrangement, limited city resources are pooled to keep financing requirements to a minimum. The agency most often selected to supervise the cable operation is the municipal power utility. It is usually well-suited to the demands of cable television ownership because it already provides a public service for local consumption, addresses community concerns daily, and has a procedure

in place for disseminating bills and payments at regular intervals.

Some cities have established *nonprofit public corporations* to manage their cable systems. Governed by an independent board of directors, such a corporation oversees the content of programming and regulates access by the community.

A fourth model for structuring public ownership of a cable system is a *joint venture between a public entity and a private operator*. One example of this plan is the system in Grosse Pointe, Michigan, 75 percent of which is owned by a public, nonprofit educational institution and 25 percent by Group W, a multiple system operator.

Black elected officials interested in cable ownership should consider each of these alternatives in light of their own city's needs and resources. Some may prefer or be required to accept less than full ownership while others, better off financially and certain about how they want their constituents to be served, may seek full and final authority over how the local cable system is run.

Common Carrier Systems

Another area of telecommunications that merits attention from municipalities is common carrier operation. A common carrier is a telecommunications company that holds itself out to the public for hire to provide communications transmission services. Local telephone companies and the cellular mobile radio telephone systems—which allow phone service in cars and other vehicles—for example, are common carriers.

Local jurisdictions normally negotiate the rates a telephone company may charge. Black elected officials should consider using this regulatory authority to encourage common carriers to provide additional services to the communities they serve. For instance, the local jurisdiction might require periodic affirmative action employment reports and percentage set-asides for minority suppliers of advertising, legal, accounting, and other services required by the common carrier. Given the divestiture of AT&T and the many adjustments that are still being made, now is an ideal time to institute such requirements.

The new cellular mobile telephone service offers similar opportunities. This system will improve the quality of automobile telephone service and make it possible for everyone who wants a car phone to have one. The regulation of cellular—like regular telephone service—will be divided so that the local jurisdiction will be responsible for local concerns such as intrastate rates. Because cellular is a new system and has yet to be reviewed by most jurisdictions, black elected officials have an unusual opportunity to include specific requirements in the initial regulations.

It should also be noted that with the AT&T divestiture and the federal deregulation of telephone operation, the existing rate setting process could be abandoned for a straightforward bidding approach. The state of Virginia, for example, recently announced its intention to solicit bids for telephone service rather than negotiate rates. Even under this arrangement, though, a municipality may require additional services of a common carrier system.

If, as is often stated, the telecommunications media are too powerful and important to ignore, then black elected officials at the local level must seek ways to make them more responsive to community needs. Active, self-interested participation in the regulatory process is one of the best ways to do this.

Telescope

Adolescent Pregnancy Child Watch

Faced with the high rate of pregnancy among teenagers, the Children's Defense Fund (CDF) has launched an Adolescent Pregnancy Child Watch (APCW). The problem: in 1980, almost 600,000 babies were born to adolescents, 10,000 to mothers 14 years of age or younger.

In collaboration with the Association of Junior Leagues, the National Council of Negro Women, the March of Dimes, and the National Coalition of 100 Black Women, APCW will educate communities about adolescent pregnancy and help them organize prevention programs. A manual will provide guidance to local volunteers in gathering information and developing agendas to decrease teenage pregnancies in their areas. It should be available for \$9.50 by the end of the summer. CDF and other APCW organizations will begin training local project coordinators in September and will provide ongoing technical assistance.

Organizations that would like to become involved or would like more information about APCW should call (800) 424-9602 or (202) 628-8787, or write Children's Defense Fund, 122 C St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

JCPS Study Analyzes Jackson's Primary Campaign

When Jesse Jackson decided to launch his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination nine months ago, public reaction was mixed. Many—including several black leaders—came out against such a move, calling it premature and questioning whether Jackson was the right man for the task. This led to the popular refrain by those who supported a Jackson campaign of "If not now, when? If not Jesse, who?" Many persons expressed the view that although Jackson had little chance of winning the nomination, other objectives could be accomplished, namely, increasing black political participation, voicing policy concerns of blacks and other disadvantaged groups, and bridging the gap between various ethnic groups. Later in the campaign, Jackson called for changes in party rules and state laws to increase the impact of minority political participation.

In *Jesse Jackson's Campaign: The Primaries and Caucuses*, Joint Center researchers Thomas Cavanagh and Lorn Foster say Jackson achieved success on three of these objectives—black voting was way up in the primaries; he had a significant impact on the Democratic policy agenda, most notably, focusing national attention on South Africa's apartheid policies; and he stimulated a debate on the effects of second primaries and other electoral and party mechanisms on blacks and progressive candidates.

However, Jackson was unable to forge a multi-ethnic "Rainbow Coalition." Cavanagh and Foster cite several factors that contributed to this failure to expand his base beyond the black community: the hymie incident and the Farrakhan comments, the emergence of Hart as a viable candidate, and Hispanic perception of Jackson's campaign as heavily black oriented. "The net effect," write Cavanagh and Foster, "was to put a very low ceiling on Jackson's share of the white vote."

In addition to examining Jackson's major objectives in running for president and how well he achieved them, *Jesse Jackson's Campaign* discusses the general impact this largely "symbolic" campaign is likely to have on the American political process in the future. And it takes a look at Jackson's media coverage and campaign organization

and finance. It is the second JCPS Election '84 Report. Copies are available for \$4.95 each.

Election '84 Reports 3 and 4, guides to the Democratic and Republican national conventions, respectively, are now also available from the Joint Center. Listing all black delegates and alternates to each convention, historical background, and statistical data, the guides are a valuable resource for anyone interested in black participation in partisan politics. These guides are also \$4.95 each.

For any of these publications, write Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

Voting Rights for Prisoners

Approximately 300,000 men and women in U.S. jails are eligible to vote, yet most people—including prisoners themselves—are unaware they have this right. According to Representative John Conyers (D-MI), "ordinarily, it is only convicted felons that lose their voting rights under state law." Convicted misdemeanants, pretrial detainees who cannot make bail, and those who are appealing a felony conviction usually remain eligible to vote.

In June, Conyers and Representatives Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA) and Parren J. Mitchell (D-MD) introduced House Concurrent Resolution 335 to ensure that state constitutions and local charters reflect the right of these prisoners to register and vote; to ensure adequate accessibility of registration and voting booths to prisoners; and to ensure that probation and parole officers consider voting participation when evaluating offenders under their supervision.

Ending Barriers (Continued from page 5)

A similar suit filed in Mississippi on March 1, 1984, challenged the state's dual registration requirements as well as state laws prohibiting mobile registration throughout the counties. Mississippi has since ended some of its dual registration requirements, but the prohibitions against mobile registration and appointment of deputy registrars remain in effect.

By the end of the summer, we expect to file statewide lawsuits in Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia. Registration challenges have already been filed in Michigan and New Hampshire. And attorneys in Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania recently won lawsuits challenging restrictions on voter registration drives conducted in public agency waiting rooms. On the legislative front, Representative John Conyers (D-MI) has introduced a bill to permit mail registration for federal elections, and Representatives Gus Hawkins (D-CA) and Al Swift (D-WA) are cosponsoring a bill that creates financial incentives for states to simplify registration procedures. Finally, governors in New York, Ohio, and Texas have issued executive orders authorizing registration efforts by state employees who have contact with the public.

The next step is to put the registration issue atop the national agenda. We must pressure county registrars, secretaries of state, and members of Congress to do something about the enormous number of unregistered voters. Presidential candidates and state and national parties must also be called upon to help make registration simple and accessible for all eligible citizens.

Behind the Scenes . . .

(Continued from page 4)

ters in the Mondale campaign. One prominent member of the Jackson camp, Congressman Walter Fauntroy of the District of Columbia, is being slated for a major role in the Democrats' voter registration drive. Other Jackson aides will probably be added to the Mondale-Ferraro team in the weeks to come.

Congressman Charles Rangel of Harlem, a Mondale supporter, has been named a co-chair of the Mondale campaign. Other senior black aides to Mondale include deputy campaign chairman George Dalley, political liaison Doris Crenshaw, and attorney James Dyke. Another black lawyer, Charles Atkins, was recently named an aide to the Ferraro campaign staff.

Although hostility to Reagan is widespread in the black community, enthusiasm for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket appears less than overwhelming at present. It remains to be seen whether the unification efforts underway will prove sufficient to generate the large black turnout.

Reforming the Democratic Party Rules for 1988

The report of the Rules Committee calls for the establishment of a "fairness commission" to study the rules governing the 1988 delegate selection process. The commission proposal was a response to criticism by both Jackson and Hart that the 1984 rules unfairly advantaged a mainstream front-runner like Mondale at the expense of "outsider" candidates.

The directive consists of two parts. The first set of recommendations was drafted by the Hart campaign, and includes the following provisions:

1. Reducing the threshold (or minimum percentage of the

vote required for delegate representation) from 20 to 15 percent both within congressional districts and at the at-large level;

2. Reducing the number of unpledged party and elected official delegates by more than half, and prohibiting their selection until April of the primary season;

3. Mandating that all states in the first half of the primary schedule allocate their delegates on the basis of the proportion of the vote the candidates receive, and prohibiting both winner-take-all by congressional district and "bonus delegate" plans (which award an extra delegate to the winner of each congressional district);

4. Requiring that filing deadlines for delegate slates be no more than 30 days in advance of a primary or caucus; and

5. Prohibiting caucus rules that discourage participation, such as the two-stage primary and caucus system employed in Texas, or the non-secret ballot in Michigan.

The second set of recommendations was drafted by the Jackson campaign, and mandates that the reform commission study the following proposed changes:

1. Abolishing the caucus system altogether, in effect requiring the use of primaries in all states and territories;

2. Eliminating the category of unpledged party and elected official delegates;

3. Establishing a system of complete proportionality in translating vote totals into delegate totals, in effect abolishing bonus delegate and winner-take-all plans; and

4. Requiring "assured percentages" of delegates for women, minorities, and other disadvantaged groups.

Black political activists should pay close attention to the work of the reform commission over the next two years.

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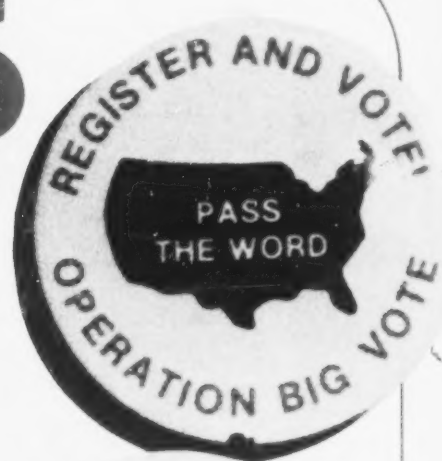
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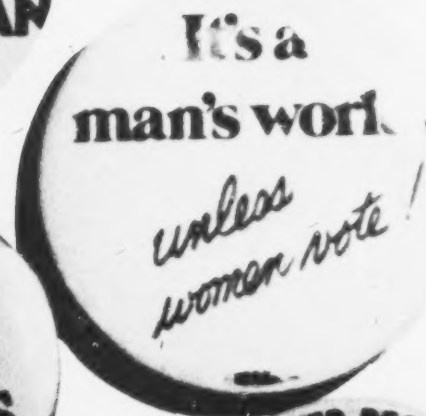
"Two Million More in '84"

A nationwide, nonpartisan black voter registration campaign is in full gear



A Black Woman's Place

The National Black Women's Political Caucus is off the ground



Welfare Policy and the Working Poor

Government policies actually *discourage* welfare recipients from finding work.



Plus:

The first results from a JCPS poll of political attitudes



On the Scene in Dallas

The Republicans try to become "America's Party"

Perspective

Last month, the Joint Center released major findings of a recent nationwide survey of the reactions of black and white voters to the American political environment during the 1984 presidential campaign. This is our first full-scale national survey. It was undertaken to fill in gaps in the nation's knowledge of black political participation and to help all of us better understand forces that shape black and white political attitudes and their different consequences. Some of the highlights are reported on page 8; a full analysis will be published in October.

This study is unique in its comprehensiveness and its oversampling of blacks, who generally show up as only 10 percent of most national surveys. The study seeks to minimize distortions and biases in other ways as well. It is based on personal interviews rather than telephone interviews. A majority of whites interviewed white respondents and a majority of blacks interviewed black respondents. The project was conducted under the supervision of Milton D. Morris, JCPS director of research, and was managed by Tom Cavanagh, a senior research associate at the center.

I'd like to share a few observations based on some of the study's major findings. First, blacks are continuing to increase the emphasis they place on political participation as a means of achieving their goals and objectives. The more successful they become, the more their emphasis increases. And at least in national elections, blacks continue to be overwhelmingly committed to the Democratic party and its presidential nominee. Young blacks in particular—those 18-24 years old—are becoming more politically active. In fact, blacks 18-35 years old make up a significant proportion of newcomers to the political arena.

Overall, the gap between rates of black and white

voter registration has narrowed, from about 12 percentage points to about 5 percentage points. Since 1982, blacks have out-registered whites by 7 percent to 4 percent. The white-black turnout gap also appears to be decreasing from about 10 percentage points in 1980 to 6 percentage points which the survey projects for 1984.

A major catalyst in the upsurge in black political activism was the Jackson candidacy. But while Jackson is given very high marks as a national leader, he is generally viewed as only one of a number of major leaders. The success of black mayors and other black politicians has had a significant impact on black political consciousness.

The considerable differences between the attitudes of white and black voters on a number of important issues suggest the enormous difficulty that political parties and candidates confront when appealing to all voters. The difficulty for Republicans is especially pronounced. Under present circumstances, the GOP stands little chance of increasing its base among blacks, and, in fact, the JCPS survey suggests that President Reagan will lose some black Republican support in the 1984 election.

Yet despite the dilemma that blacks face, believing that the Republican party ignores them and the Democratic party takes them for granted, they appear to be unalterably committed to the two-party system and overwhelmingly opposed to a black separatist movement or a black political party.

This is our first national poll, but we hope it will not be our last. We expect to institutionalize the survey, conducting it at least once a year in connection with our assessment of the state of black politics.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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On the Scene in Dallas

by Lorn S. Foster

(Dr. Foster is a senior fellow at the Joint Center, on leave from Pomona College in Claremont, California, where he is associate professor of government and black studies.)

Even more than the Democrats, the Republicans sought to make their national convention a media extravaganza with no questions from the audience. And while the country at least had to watch the Democratic convention to find out whether Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart would enthusiastically back Walter Mondale, no one at the Republican convention—including the 70-odd black delegates—was threatening to withhold support from the Reagan-Bush ticket.

The Republicans tried to convey two basic, related messages through their show of unity: that their party best represents mainstream American values, and that their party is successful and optimistic, in contrast to the Democratic party, which they portrayed as incompetent and dispirited. By celebrating Reagan's "successful" economic and foreign policies and by characterizing the Democratic party as untrue to its own heritage, they attempted to broaden their party base and draw in many traditionally Democratic voters.

During the convention, the speakers portrayed their party as maintaining the traditions of an earlier generation of Democrats. Jeanne Kirkpatrick's foreign policy address to the convention, placing the hard-line anti-communism of Ronald Reagan in the tradition of Harry Truman and Scoop Jackson, was aimed as much at Democratic viewers at home as at the audience in the Dallas Convention Center. Other speakers stressed the fact that moderate Democrats, such as Senators John Glenn and Ernest Hollings and former Governor Reubin Askew, were some of the earliest casualties in the Democratic caucuses and primaries. Perhaps, they suggested, moderate to conservative Democrats would be more comfortable voting for President Reagan and other Republican candidates than for the party that, according to Reagan, spends taxpayers' money like "drunken sailors."

Many pundits noted that the Republican platform had been taken over by the right-wing of the party. Nevertheless, the image that the Republicans attempted to convey to the nation was not that of an ideologically polarized party but that of a party dedicated to economic growth and development for all. The Republicans boasted that personal taxes had been cut substantially, inflation was down, and employment was up since the beginning of the Reagan presidency.

But although the Republicans dubbed themselves "America's Party," a lot of America—especially those who are not wealthy and not white—were scarcely represented on the convention floor, in the platform, or in the rhetoric. This year, 3.1 percent of the delegates were black, up slightly from the 2.7 percent in 1980. (Among the convention speakers were Legree Daniels, president of the National Black Republican Council and a minority affairs liaison with the Reagan-Bush campaign; Wendell Wilkie Gunn, former White House aide; and the Reverend E. V. Hill, a Baptist minister from Los Angeles and a close advisor to the Reverend Jerry Falwell.)

The Republicans did try to respond in a positive way to the Democrats' nomination of Representative Geraldine Ferraro as their vice-presidential candidate. Some 48.5 percent of the Republican delegates were women, as a number of male delegates voluntarily gave up their seats to women. The convention's keynote address was delivered by U.S. Treasurer Katherine Ortega. Other major addresses were delivered by the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeanne S. Kirkpatrick; Secretary of Health and Human Services Margaret Heckler; and by Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole. The substantial number of female delegates and the prominent roles played by women at the convention were indicative of the Republicans' attempt to neutralize the Democrats' increasing appeal to women.

In the initial draft of the Republican party platform, only four lines addressed minority concerns. A Japanese-American delegate to the platform committee pointed out to the platform committee and to the press that having so little in the platform regarding minority interests would make it difficult for the party to appeal to minority voters.

In the platform adopted by the convention, there is a half page specifically on minority interests and another two and a half pages on women's issues. The platform calls for a civil rights policy "premised on the letter of the 1964 Civil Rights Act" and comes out strongly against quotas. At no point does it call for full enforcement of the recently passed Voting Rights Act, for fair housing legislation, or for a jobs program that pays particular interest to minority concerns. Throughout the platform, however, it is stated that all citizens, regardless of race and gender, have benefited from the president's economic policies.

Black Republicans at the convention were well aware of the fact that most blacks identify with the Democratic party. In conversations, they maintained that blacks are welcome in the Republican party and that blacks need to join the Republican party if the two-party system is to work for blacks. Black Republicans extolled President Reagan's tax and spending policies as benefiting blacks, and argued that enterprise zones were a better means of achieving economic growth than public works programs.

With black support for both Reagan and the Republican party at single-digit levels, it is mathematically impossible for the Republicans to lose much more of their black support, and a number of prominent Republicans are beginning to work at turning the situation around. All five of the leading Republican contenders for 1988—Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, Vice President George Bush, Congressman Jack Kemp (R-NY), and the husband-and-wife team of Senate Finance Committee Chairman Robert Dole and Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole—have closer ties to the black community than does Ronald Reagan. Senator Dole was particularly outspoken in support of the Martin Luther King holiday bill, and Kemp has been sensitized to the needs of the poor in representing his blue-collar constituency outside Buffalo. After the Reagan administration, at least some of the antagonism blacks feel toward the Republican party may fade, creating some interesting political opportunities for both blacks and Republicans disturbed by the one-party domination of current black politics.

A Black Women's Place

by Julie E. Dade

(Ms. Dade is Director of Programs for the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Inc.)

Meeting last month in Washington, D.C., a group of nationally prominent and politically active black women signaled a dramatic shift in the strategy they will pursue—and will encourage other black women to pursue—in an effort to influence public policy at all levels of government. The group founded the National Black Women's Political Caucus—the first organization of its kind.

Through civil rights, social, and professional organizations, black women have always sought to improve their communities. But when they wanted to influence public policy through the political process, their options seemed limited to letter-writing campaigns, voter registration drives, or work in coalition with other groups. More often than not, black women felt they were sought out primarily to legitimize the label "coalition"; when final decisions were made, their opinions often went unheeded.

First Steps

In the early 1970s, black women began creating local and state political organizations to gain greater political leverage. Today, these groups continue to provide financial support, research, training, and endorsements for candidates seeking elective office. The list of such groups is rapidly increasing; it includes California's Black Women Organized for Political Action; the Black Women's Agenda, founded by California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters; the Black Women's Alliance, in Houston, Texas; the Black Women's Political Action Committee, in Cleveland, Ohio; Women in Unity, in Seattle, Washington; and the Colorado Black Women Organized for Political Action. These groups have raised thousands of dollars, and their efforts may have provided the winning margin for some candidates in local and statewide races.

The idea of establishing a national organization followed naturally from the success of these state and local groups. The question of when was answered after the Democratic National Convention: black women again felt frustrated in their attempts to influence the decisions of coalitions with which they were involved—in this case, both the black and women's caucuses.

Why a Black Women's Caucus?

At the August 9 meeting at which the National Black Women's Political Caucus was founded, some of the participants detailed their reasons for creating the organization. "Neither the black movement nor the women's movement in this country has addressed the problems of blacks who are female," said former Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, who in 1972 became the first black to mount a serious presidential campaign. C. Delores Tucker, vice chair of the Democratic National Committee's black caucus, added "black women walked away [from the convention] feeling the party had forsaken them and unless they organized they would continue to be left out." Ms. Chisholm and Ms. Tucker were named chair and vice chair, respectively, of the new political caucus.

Other founding members included Mary Berry, member, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Faye B. Bryant, president, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Hortense Canady, president, Delta Sigma Theta; LeGree Daniels, chair of the National Black Republican Council; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Jewell Jackson McCabe, president, National Coalition of 100 Black Women; and Eleanor Holmes Norton, professor, Georgetown University Law School.

Everyone present agreed that the general goal of the organization would be twofold: to have an impact on the 1984 elections and to build an organization that would increase the political participation of all black women over 18. They decided that the group would be a political caucus including Democratic, Republican, and independent women committed to an eight point mission:

- encouraging every black woman to register and vote;
- teaching black women how the political process operates and how they can operate effectively within it;
- encouraging black women to seek office at all levels;
- endorsing candidates for public office;
- providing financial support for candidates for public office;
- encouraging the appointment of black women to responsible positions within both political parties and at all levels of government;
- developing and advocating public policy positions; and
- preparing black women under 18 to enter the political arena.

The group's long-range plans include a national meeting to conduct workshops on campaign strategy, fundraising, and devising a legislative agenda. Members have also begun to study federal, statewide, and local races. According to the Joint Center for Political Studies, only 22 percent of all black elected officials are women. Expressing disappointment over the defeat of Congresswoman Katie Hall (D-IN) and the narrowness of the primary victory of Cardiss Collins (D-IL), the caucus has already identified congressional contests as one of its key concerns. Both Ms. Hall and Ms. Collins are founding members of the caucus.

The new group will also focus on the issues of housing, education, foreign policy, employment training, business development, and the feminization of poverty, which affects a huge number of black women. One-half of all black families are headed by women, and 70 percent of these families are living below the poverty line.

But with black women representing 55.7 percent of the 18 million blacks of voting age, voter registration, education, and turnout must assume a high place on the caucus' agenda. Black women have the potential

(Continued on page 5)

Two Million More in '84

by Kevin Armstrong

(The author is staff writer at the Joint Center for Political Studies.)

"Two million more in 1984" is the rallying cry of a collective effort to enlist some of the seven million voting-age blacks who remain unregistered. Coined by the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, the slogan sets forth the goal of a nationwide, nonpartisan voter registration campaign that is currently in full gear.

Campaign Support

The campaign enjoys unprecedented support from several major foundations. Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller, for example, have each contributed \$25,000 or more to the work of the National Coalition and the Voter Education Project (VEP), two prominent organizations devoted primarily to signing up black voters. Foundation support of all nonpartisan, tax-exempt voter registration groups has doubled since 1983, but most of the funding is going to organizations with special 4945(f) tax-exempt IRS status. Recipients of this special status must spend at least 85 percent of their income on nonpartisan, educational, or charitable voter registration programs in five or more states and remain active for more than one election period. So far, the National Coalition and VEP are the only 2 black groups of the 12 organizations that have received 4945(f) status.

Public Service Announcements (PSAs)—brief informational radio or television commercials for a specific public service or cause—will play an important role in this year's effort to persuade more eligible blacks to register and vote. Broadcast free of charge, PSAs are accepted only from tax-exempt organizations and must be strictly nonpartisan. All three of the national television networks have pledged to support the use of PSAs in voter registration drives, and after labor day, the top 50 black radio stations in the country began airing voter registration PSAs taped by CBS recording artists, including Carl Anderson, Roy Ayers, Ramsey Lewis, and Wynton Marsalis.

The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation also has a special project aimed at increasing political participation among black women. The Black Women's Roundtable on Voter Participation seeks to train black women to develop leadership skills, emphasize the importance of the women's vote, and ensure the involvement of black women in discussions of the "gender gap" as an influence in elections. The National Coalition is distributing "Black Women Vote—It's Their Heritage" posters as well as "1984 Operation Big Vote" posters. The posters are available for \$3.00 each from the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

Campaign Strategy

Earlier this year, several voter registration groups formed the National Clearinghouse Project on Black Voter Participation to coordinate the diverse functions of the national registration campaign. The Clearinghouse Project has three specific tasks: funding of local voter registration and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) drives; administration of these efforts; and ensuring

the efficient use and exchange of information and limited resources.

As the only two black 4945(f) designees, the National Coalition and VEP will be responsible for using funds they receive to initiate nonpartisan registration and GOTV campaigns in states with sizable populations of unregistered blacks. Within each state, local branches of national organizations and church groups such as the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the Congress of National Black Churches will administer the registration campaigns in coalition with public officials, representatives of the National Coalition or VEP, and local groups, such as women's organizations, sororities, fraternities, and community-based organizations. This decentralized approach will enable black public officials, whose participation is crucial, to stress the impact increased registration may have on local races. The third task, the transfer of information and resources, will be managed by the National Urban Coalition.

The following is a list of "primary focus states" in which the National Coalition or VEP will conduct registration and GOTV campaigns. If you are a resident of one of these states and would like to become involved, the National Coalition in Washington (202 626-3552) or VEP in Atlanta (404 522-7495) can put you in touch with a local representative.

National Coalition

Illinois
Maryland
Michigan
Missouri
New Jersey
New York
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Texas

VEP

Alabama
Arkansas
Georgia
Louisiana
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee

A Black Women's Place

(Continued from page 4)

to be a deciding factor in 1984, but the National Black Women's Political Caucus is determined to ensure that the support or acquiescence of this important constituency is never again taken for granted.

The caucus is a membership organization and its founders invite all interested black women to join. For further information, write:

Shirley Chisholm
Chair
National Black Women's Political Caucus
P.O. Box 75013
Washington, D.C. 20013

Welfare Policy and the Working Poor

by Barbara Harrison Linden

(Dr. Linden is a sociologist specializing in welfare and employment related issues.)

A recent study by the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service estimates that at least 557,000 people were made poor by restrictions in the social welfare budget enacted since President Reagan took office. (The Census Bureau classifies as poor a family of four whose cash income is less than \$10,178 per year.) Since 1981, changes brought about by the budget reconciliation acts have excluded thousands of families from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Medicaid, and food stamp eligibility, and thousands more have had these benefits reduced.

Many of these measures were put in place with little or no attention to the results of pertinent research and often with little awareness of how the programs operate. Instead, the policy changes reflect administration officials' emphasis on stricter cost-cutting measures, tighter controls over sources of fraud and error in the various programs, and closer targeting of benefits at those defined as "most needy."

AFDC: An Example

Aid to Families with Dependent Children is one of the social welfare programs most heavily affected by the new policies. Four changes in AFDC regulations have been especially important in the past four years: the institution of monthly reporting, which requires clients to report their income and work status each month for use in the calculation of the following month's payment; the exclusion of AFDC clients who have earnings over 150 percent of a state's need standard (set by the state legislature, the need standard is the subsistence level income used to determine eligibility for assistance); a reduction in work-related child-care expenses that may be deducted from income in calculating benefit levels; and the adoption by states of requirements that recipients participate in a variety of additional job-related programs.

Monthly reporting was intended to guard against unreported changes in income and other circumstances leading to ineligibility or overpayments: if reporting forms are not completed correctly or on time, clients are declared ineligible for benefits and dropped from the program, even if their income is still insufficient. However, a recently released New York State study shows that nearly one-quarter of the cases administratively closed there were terminated contrary to regulations, and 30 percent of the closings were reopened within two months.

Furthermore, studies of error rates in AFDC show that overpayments, underpayments, and payments to ineligible recipients are due more often to agency errors rather than client misreporting. Finally, and most important in budgetary terms, the most recent reviews of the impact of monthly reporting show that it has not reduced incorrect payments.

AFDC recipients with employment income have been hardest hit by the new policies because of the changes in the level of allowable income and stricter limitations on work-related and child-care expenses. In 1980, before introduction of the new policies, 28 percent of AFDC recipients with outside income left

the program after a year. This percentage increased to 55 percent in the year following the enactments. Average grant reductions for employed persons who remained in AFDC were \$57 monthly.

Before the new regulations became law, a family head earning \$580 each month could have \$362 of that income disregarded, and count \$218 toward the calculation of AFDC benefits, which would amount to \$202 in a state with a need standard of \$420 a month. Under the new rules, this person receives \$148 a month during the first four months of employment, and nothing thereafter. Consequently, the proportion of heads of households who receive some AFDC but also have income from earnings has declined considerably since 1981.

Since the proportion of earned income that may be disregarded in the calculation of benefits is lower now than under previous administrations, the rate of substitution of earned dollars for benefit dollars is higher. The new policies, therefore, introduce a negative employment incentive into eligibility rules. A 1982 report by the Center for the Study of Social Policy concluded that the higher substitution rate, together with the loss of Medicaid benefits (which occurs in 30 states if the recipient loses AFDC eligibility) would leave many people economically worse off if they accepted a low-wage job than if they did not work and continued to receive benefits.

Work Requirements

In fact, some type of work-related requirement (often referred to as the Community Work Experience Program, or CWEP) has been made mandatory for all states. These programs vary widely in their requirements, and may include registration at state employment agencies, proof that the recipient has applied for a certain number of jobs, participation in employment training programs, work at public service job sites in return for benefits ("Workfare"), or combinations of these.

Sanctions for noncompliance range from withholding benefits from the household head for up to three months to depriving the entire family of its eligibility for longer periods. CWEP proponents say that requiring eligible clients to participate in these programs increases their future employability and improves their chances of leaving welfare or reducing their dependence on it.

There has been little controversy over the wisdom of increasing job opportunities and training for welfare clients. Critics as well as supporters of these programs have always linked the "way out" of welfare to steady employment. Disagreements have concerned questions of means, not ends: what is the most effective method of preparing recipients for employment? Is it advisable to impose the same requirements on all members of a population although they differ widely in employment and education backgrounds? And how wise are present termination and sanction policies—especially in light of the direct effect benefit reductions have on children in these families?

Evaluations of past and present work requirements have shown that most clients do not find employment; that jobs, when found, are low-paying and usually

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Telescope

The Civil Rights Act of 1984

In its ruling in *Grove City College of Pennsylvania* in February of this year, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits sex discrimination in schools receiving federal aid, applied only to those educational programs and activities actually receiving aid, not the entire institution. The Ford and Carter administrations had supported the interpretation that if any single school program or activity received federal aid, the entire institution was subject to the provisions of Title IX and could have its federal funds cut off for noncompliance. The dramatic growth in the number of women participating in high school and college sports during the 1970s can be attributed to Title IX and similar statutes barring discrimination in schools.

The Reagan administration, however, has argued for the much narrower interpretation of Title IX upheld in *Grove City College*—that it applies only to those specific activities receiving federal aid—and, more significantly, has applied this interpretation to other major civil rights statutes prohibiting discrimination in institutions receiving federal aid: Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975. As a consequence, the federal government may now subsidize institutions that discriminate against women, minorities, the disabled, and senior citizens.

In an attempt to restore the four civil rights statutes to their original scope, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill—the Civil Rights Act of 1984—by a vote of 375-32. That bill is now in the Senate, where it has 63 co-sponsors, including a number of influential Republicans. However, the administration and Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT), Jesse Helms (R-NC), and John East (R-NC) are vigorously opposing the bill. Senators Hatch, Helms, and East are expected to filibuster the bill when it reaches the Senate floor. With less than a month left before the 98th Congress adjourns, such a filibuster would seriously jeopardize chances for passage of the bill. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 165 national organizations representing blacks and other minorities, women, labor, and religious groups, is leading a major effort to obtain Senate passage of the bill. The LCCR is urging all concerned citizens to write their senators in support of the Civil Rights Act of 1984.

New JCPS Senior Military Fellow

Colonel James R. Daugherty, U.S. Army, has been selected to participate in the Joint Center's Senior Fellows Program. Daugherty will be in residence at the Joint Center for one year, through July 1984, conducting research on military manpower and personnel issues and participating in other Joint Center activities.

Daugherty has been in the Army for 21 years. His most recent position was a deputy director in the Office of the Adjutant General of the U.S. Army. Previous assignments have included administration and personnel management in The First Infantry Division, Ft. Riley, Kansas, and the Office of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army; and that of academic advisor at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point. He received his Bachelor's degree in social science from St.

John's University in Minnesota and his Master's degree in education from Pepperdine University. Daugherty is succeeding Colonel Wade S. Gatling of the U.S. Air Force, who completed his one-year fellowship with the center this past July.

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1984

Since 1970, the Joint Center has published an annual roster of black elected officials. The thirteenth volume of the *Roster* is now available from UNIPUB, a division of the R. R. Bowker Company, which is publishing the *Roster* for the center.

The cutoff date for the *Roster* has been shifted from June 30 to January 30 of each year to allow reporting of the results of the November elections in a more timely manner. The thirteenth volume lists all 5,700 blacks in office as of January 1984. As in previous editions, each official's address and office expiration date are included, as are demographic and political data for each state. Tables and charts highlight significant statistical features and trends, such as the number of black elected officials in each state, by level of office; changes in the number of black elected officials from year to year, since 1970; cities with black mayors; the number of blacks in state legislatures; changes in black female representation, and much more.

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1984 is available for \$27.50 per copy from UNIPUB, P.O. Box 1222, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, or call toll free 800 521-8110.

Welfare Policy . . .

(Continued from page 6)

short-term; that dependence on welfare does not decrease, and that welfare budgets are not reduced. Nevertheless, the usefulness of work requirements continues to be debated, and estimates of the savings gained from work requirements also vary substantially. For example, the administration's estimates of the savings attributable to work requirements (from decreased need for benefits, fewer applications, sanctions, and terminations) are more than one-fifth higher than those estimated by the Congressional Budget Office. A Government Accounting Office review of CWEP found that the lack of detailed information made it impossible to attribute any cost reductions to these programs: "The evidence on the effectiveness of CWEP is inconclusive. It may or may not be producing AFDC budget savings."

So, instead of bolstering inadequate incomes with support payments, the recent changes in AFDC have further exacerbated distinctions between working and nonworking welfare recipients. And they have done this without achieving their express goals of helping unemployed clients find lasting employment or reducing costs substantially. Public opinion about the welfare system and those who must depend on it, therefore, will likely worsen. Furthermore, without improved job training programs, employment opportunities are likely to remain limited for unskilled AFDC clients—even as payment levels decline, putting still more parents and children at risk.

JCPS Survey of Political Attitudes

On August 30, the Joint Center for Political Studies released the first results from a poll of 900 blacks and 1,300 whites on a wide range of political questions. The poll probes the political attitudes of both blacks and whites toward Jesse Jackson, the presidential candidates, and the state of the nation. It also explores voter registration and likely turnout. The most significant findings in four major areas:

(1) Blacks head toward the November elections as an extremely unified voting group. They prefer Walter Mondale to Ronald Reagan by 88 percent to 5 percent; even black Republicans generally oppose President Reagan and plan to vote for Mondale.

—An overwhelming majority of blacks—82 percent—disapprove of Reagan's job performance, compared to 32 percent of whites.

—72 percent of blacks see Ronald Reagan as "prejudiced"; 13 percent see Walter Mondale as "prejudiced."

—Black opinion is highly consistent across regions, income levels, occupations, and even gender.

(2) Blacks still lag behind whites in voter registration by about 5 percentage points. However, 7 percent of the black voting-age population has registered to vote since 1982, compared to 4 percent of voting-age whites.

—Of the newly registered blacks, 88 percent reported hearing a speech on the importance of voter registration before they registered, and 84 percent said Jesse Jackson's campaign made them more likely to vote in November. Seventy-four percent of registered blacks are under 35 years old.

—Most newly registered whites—68 percent—support Ronald Reagan; 26 percent support Walter Mondale; and 7 percent are undecided.

—81 percent of blacks registering for the first time did so not at traditional registration offices but at shopping centers, church-sponsored activities, or other on-site registration locations.

—In the past, black turnout has lagged behind white turnout by 10 percentage points. In 1984, 55 percent of blacks and 61 percent of whites say they will definitely vote—a 6 percentage point gap.

(3) Jesse Jackson's campaign for the presidential nomination has had a lasting effect on the politics of 1984.

—67 percent of blacks feel that Jackson has had "a great deal of effect" on Democratic party policies.

—65 percent of blacks say Jackson's campaign has made them more likely to vote in November, and 56 percent say his endorsement of the Mondale-Ferraro ticket makes them more likely to vote Democratic.

—40 percent of blacks think black political influence is increasing, and 36 percent consider Jackson's campaign the most important reason.

—However, there is also evidence of white backlash to Jackson. Among whites, 17 percent say they are less likely to vote for Mondale because of Jackson's endorsement, compared to 10 percent who say they are more likely to vote for Mondale. In the South, whites are less likely to vote Democratic, by 19 percent to 8 percent, because of Jackson.

(4) Blacks and whites assess the state of the nation very differently.

—48 percent of whites but only 14 percent of blacks are satisfied with the way things are going in the country.

—38 percent of blacks but only 6 percent of whites think civil rights is one of the most important issues in this year's presidential campaign.

—40 percent of blacks and 15 percent of whites think "white people want to keep blacks down."

—A plurality of whites feels better off financially today than four years ago; a plurality of blacks feels worse off today.

The Joint Center developed the survey in consultation with the Gallup Organization, which conducted the interviews for the center during the last weekend in July and the first weekend in August. The center commissioned the poll because most nationwide polls include only a small sample of blacks—100 to 150 is common. The large JCPS sample gives a much more accurate and detailed view of the attitudes of the black population. The JCPS sample contains 902 blacks, for a sampling error of 4 percent, and 1,365 whites, for a sampling error of 3 percent.

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JCPS Conference Report No. 6:
The Civil Rights Act—
Two Decades Later.

A Modest Achievement

Professor John Hope Franklin says the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was only a first step toward decency in human relations.

Health Problems, Political Cures

Politics, not biology, is to blame for the health risks borne by poor women and children.

A Dangerous Indifference

TV programming reveals our hidden attitudes toward our children and their education.

Blacks and the 1990 Census

There are many reasons to get involved now in planning for the next Census.

Perspective

Voter turnout will be the key to the November elections, despite what the polls and the polls say today about who is ahead. The groups, the candidates, and political parties that do the best job of mobilizing their troops are likely to come out ahead on election day. That is why so much attention is focused on voter registration and turnout and why so much money is being spent to mobilize voters.

Both the Republican party and the Democratic party are reportedly spending millions to mobilize support. Voter registration campaigns, once considered the special province of Democrats, have caught fire among Republicans and among a host of conservative groups closely allied with the Reagan candidacy. Most notable among these groups are the Moral Majority and the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). Some new groups have also been added this year, and they are making hard pitches to their constituents.

One such group is Americans for Responsive Government (ARG), which describes itself as a non-partisan, tax-exempt organization. Its pitch to corporate executives and others is quite clear:

We must do everything possible to increase the participation of *all* Americans in the electoral process—not just certain special groups such as those Jesse Jackson and the AFL-CIO are working with. It is hoped, however, that the large majority of those we register will be strong supporters of the free enterprise system and those who understand the importance of contributions of the private sector to the future of our great country.

The thrust of this appeal is about as subtle as a ton of bricks. But just in case the letter's text did not hit the right mark, it concluded with the following post-script:

If you are planning to be at the Republican National Convention, please have your

office contact (name). I am planning a reception and would like you to attend.

Another voter registration drumbeat was sounded by the National Wholesale Hardware Association. In a voter mobilization effort aimed exclusively at its "white collar and managerial personnel," a recent NWHHA newsletter urged: "We and others in the business community must implement our own non-partisan registration program among our white-collar workers to ensure that free enterprise views will be fully represented at the polls on November 6th."

Nonpartisan voter mobilization activities oriented toward liberals have also proliferated. They are focusing on potential voters who are more likely to support moderate to liberal candidates, especially among Democrats.

What we have, then, is a voter mobilization war. The battles are being waged in the media, in the mail, in meetings, and wherever another footsoldier can be recruited to register and vote. It behooves those of us who have a real stake in the outcome of the elections to go into battle with fervor.

And there is much more at stake on November 6 than the presidency, although that is the single most important position in the land. The Congress—all 435 House seats and one-third of the Senate seats will be contested—is also extremely important both as a legislative body and as a bulwark against an imperial presidency. And in each of our states, counties, and towns, local races are vital to our social, economic, and political welfare.

The elections offer an opportunity to be heard, to be counted, and to make a difference. Even when the candidate of your choice does not win, the size of his or her vote communicates a message. None of us can afford to sit out even one election.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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A Modest Achievement

by John Hope Franklin

(The author is professor of history at Duke University. This is an abridged version of a speech given by Mr. Franklin at a JCPS dinner commemorating the Civil Rights Act of 1964.)

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That act extended to black Americans a body of simple but quite fundamental rights that members of any civilized society expect to enjoy. This, then, is the twentieth anniversary of black Americans being able to secure a room in a public inn, eat a meal in a public dining facility, have an equal opportunity to secure a job, and be protected in their efforts to secure and enjoy these and other rights. It is nothing short of astounding that we feel moved to observe an anniversary such as this. The fact that we do so is a measure of the begrudging manner in which this nation has conceded equality to all of its citizens. By any standards, it is, at most, a modest achievement.

Real Intentions

There never was any intention to treat Africans as equals, even when they were free. In the seventeenth century, white colonists discriminated against black indentured servants who were free. It was all right for Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams to fight Britain because they found taxation without representation repugnant, but it was unacceptable for free black Americans to expect to vote when they were required to pay taxes. Afro-American soldiers in the Civil War were expected to risk their lives fighting for freedom and union, but were court-martialed when they insisted on receiving the same pay that white soldiers received.

Later, the practices that had evolved during slavery became the pattern for racial policies established after emancipation. The racially segregated schools of Massachusetts and Connecticut in the 1840s became the models for racially segregated schools of Mississippi and Alabama in the 1880s. The federal Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, did not guarantee equality for black Americans, and neither did the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. If anything, the reconstruction amendments merely confused the issue and laid the foundation for states and local governments to deprive Negroes of what few civil rights they did have.

In 1875, Congress passed the first Civil Rights Act, which held that all persons should be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement. As the *New York Times* boasted at the time, however, this act was a dead letter from the beginning. It never provided any substantial protection for blacks in their efforts to secure and enjoy their rights. This was so not only because of the massive resistance of white business establishments but also because of the appalling dereliction on the part of officials of the U.S. government in enforcing the law. During the eight years of its life, the act was virtually ignored by U.S. presidents, enforcement officers, and courts.

Ceding Authority to the States

In 1883 the United States Supreme Court struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, declaring that

Congress did not have power to pass laws regulating the conduct and transactions of individuals unless it was clothed with direct and plenary powers of legislation over a whole subject. The "wrongful acts of an individual," declared Mr. Justice Bradley, "unsupported by state authority in the shape of laws, customs, judicial or executive proceedings were simply a private wrong or a crime of that individual." Relief or redress must be sought from the state, the Court said, and not from the federal government. Upon reading the verdict one depressed Afro-American said, "We have been baptized in ice water."

The remarkable thing about the 1883 decision is that it not only withheld fundamental rights from some eight million black Americans, but at the same time it encouraged white Americans to degrade and humiliate blacks even further. In telling them to seek relief from the state, the Court sent black Americans back to their most relentless oppressor. At the same time, it stimulated the enactment into law of those practices that fixed on Negroes the status of pariahs of the land and invited any and all to heap scorn on those they wished to degrade.

States and towns passed laws requiring blacks and whites to use separate elevators, separate telephone booths, separate drinking fountains, separate warehouses for storing school books used by black and white children, separate waiting rooms, separate cemeteries for pets of black and white owners, separate entrances and exits in buildings. Whites could, of course, violate the law without the slightest fear that anything would be done about it. It is doubtful that the states would have succeeded in erecting the complete system of apartheid they built before World War I had not the federal government removed itself from the picture altogether and assigned to the states full responsibility in this area.

The federal government made a dramatic, final departure from the area when the Supreme Court gave its blessing to racially separate facilities in 1896 in the celebrated case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Although it nodded in the direction of the Constitution by suggesting that facilities be equal, the Court made no ringing declaration in favor of equality that the states could not ignore. Consequently, no president, no court, no U.S. attorney, no governor, no sheriff, no constable seemed the least bit interested in enforcing the principle of equality. From the outset, separate was inherently unequal.

Pursuing Civil Rights

As late as the end of World War II, the prospects for achieving full civil rights for black Americans within the foreseeable future were not at all bright. Since blacks were virtually without political power, there was little hope of securing any significant legislation on their behalf until they had established their claim to certain rights under the Constitution. Other approaches had already been tried and had failed.

Ever since Reconstruction, Negro Americans had organized in an effort to force the government to live up to its professed ideals. In Washington, D.C., they organized the Progressive and Cooperative Union; in New Orleans it was the Young Men's Progressive Association. In Kansas, Rhode Island, and Texas they held state conventions, and in Chicago in 1890 some 147 delegates from 21 states and the District

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 3)

of Columbia organized the Afro-American League of the United States. The league called for a more equitable distribution of school funds, a fair and impartial trial for accused Negroes, and resistance "by all legal and reasonable means to mob and lynch law and tyrannical usages and abuses by railroad, steamboat, and other corporations, the destruction of color bars wherever they exist, and the enjoyment of the franchise by all qualified voters."

Despite repeated protests and demands, however, Negroes remained subject to an American racism that was as vicious and cruel as it was pervasive and successful. Blacks had been effectively disfranchised, becoming the victims of segregation statutes that revealed a perverse resourcefulness and imagination. Lynchings were increasing with every passing year.

These were things that W. E. B. DuBois and his fellow members of the Niagara Movement saw in 1905 when they said: "We believe that Negroes should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in manhood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, so intelligent, or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor."

Experience had shown, though, that it would take more than words to change things significantly. Indeed, it would take an enormous amount of energy, dedication, and concentrated assault over two generations to begin to dismantle the carefully erected racial caste system that had been in the making since 1883. It was not merely that Negroes could not enter a theater or get a cup of coffee or ride in comfort on public transportation. It was also that as a degraded people, without a semblance of political power, they could not wield any influence to get jobs or to secure a decent education for their children and adequate housing for their families. Hence, their turn to the courts, where they began, gradually, to see some encouraging results.

There was, for example, the final blow dealt the Democratic white primary in the Supreme Court's decision in *Smith v. Albright* in 1944. There was the successful attack on segregated housing in the celebrated case of *Shelly v. Kraemer* in 1948. There were the victories against segregated education at all levels in a series of significant decisions ranging from *Sweatt v. Painter* in 1950 to *Brown v. The Board of Education* in 1954.

After these decisions the tide began to turn. The legislative branch of the federal government began work in the area of civil rights in 1957, and the executive branch, which initially prodded Congress to do more, began to take the initiative itself by issuing executive orders to improve the condition of civil rights. Pressed rather courteously by President John F. Kennedy and prodded relentlessly by his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, Congress finally passed an act whose comprehensive nature was indicative of the denial of basic human rights from which Negro Americans had long suffered.

Despite its comprehensive nature, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 proved inadequate. It was, as I have said, a modest achievement. It dealt with voting rights, and yet it became necessary to enact a stronger, more definitive voting rights act the very next year. It

strengthened and made more independent the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Yet, during this past year, the independence of the commission has been seriously compromised and its status reduced to that of a political arm of the present administration. There was an air of optimism in the way in which the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission went about its work, but in time it became clear that neither the existence of the commission nor the diligence of its members could break the log-jam of discrimination against blacks in the workplace. All of this reflects the durability and tenacity of the racism that has flourished virtually unchecked over the previous seven decades.

This is not to say that things have not changed, for indeed they have. The decision in *Brown*, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 effected some changes that can be described as significant. By the end of the sixties, the changes in the status of blacks in American life were apparent even to the casual observer. But as Martin Luther King, Jr. said so often, "We have come a long way, but we still have a long way to go."

At the beginning of the seventies Negro Americans—who had adopted the motto "Free by '63" and who cheered President Lyndon B. Johnson when he repeated the words "We shall overcome"—really did not have much to celebrate. Their leaders—Malcolm X, Dr. King, W.E.B. DuBois, Whitney Young, and others—were gone or going. Almost as disturbing as the loss of leadership was the evident inappropriateness of the old approaches and techniques for the new and tougher problems. Marches and demonstrations that excited everyone and aggravated many in the sixties were no longer effective. More often than not, decisions affecting blacks were being made in the board rooms of corporations and banks, on the nineteenth hole of the country club, or in the lounge of the city club. One could demand new legislation, but who could devise a law comprehensive enough and ingenious enough to deal with the subtleties of clever evaders or faithless law enforcement officers?

A Step toward Decency

These comments on the status of the civil rights of Negro Americans indicate, I hope, both the complexity of the problem and the inadequacy of all efforts to solve it so far. They are meant to suggest that in any effort to clear away the brambles and, yes, the jungle brought on by three centuries of the deliberate denigration of black Americans, more than the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is necessary. Thus, in observing its anniversary, we commemorate a *step* toward decency in human relations that should have been taken in 1619. History has taught us that when we betray ourselves and our promise in 1776, 1787, 1865, and 1868, it becomes increasingly difficult for a so-called egalitarian nation to get back on the track of justice and equality.

Until we achieve the long-delayed equality for all of our citizens, the criticisms we level at other nations for their denial of human rights must be regarded as empty and hypocritical. Our observance of this important anniversary should inspire us to work to bring to pass all that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 promised.



The Civil Rights Act: Two Decades Later

On June 28 and 29, the Joint Center for Political Studies sponsored a conference on "The Civil Rights Act Two Decades Later: An Assessment of Change and Challenge." Held at the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, D.C., the conference featured well-known scholars and political leaders, attracted audiences of several hundred persons, and received extensive news coverage in major media such as the New York Times. Mrs. Coretta Scott King served as honorary chair. David Garrow, now professor of political science at the City University of New York, coordinated the conference for the Joint Center and prepared this account.

The twentieth anniversary of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—widely cited as one of the most important pieces of legislation in American history—provided an excellent occasion for analyzing the goals that underlay the law, the effects it has had on American society, and the challenges that remain unmet. The conference was divided into three sessions to cover each of these topics separately.

But throughout all three sessions, speakers revealed an underlying dichotomy in scholarly views of the 1964 act and its effects upon American society over these last twenty years. Professor **John Hope Franklin** of Duke University, in his keynote address at the kick-off dinner just before the conference (see p. 3 of this issue of *Focus*), emphasized that the 1964 act was "at most, a modest achievement," because its substantive provisions, important as they were, targeted only the most blatant of America's centuries-

long racial injustices. Experiences since 1964, historian Franklin noted, have further highlighted

both the complexity of the problem and the inadequacy of all efforts to solve it so far. They suggest that in any effort to clear away the brambles and, yes, the jungle brought on by three centuries of the deliberate denigration of black Americans, more than the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is necessary.

That statute, Franklin declared, was only a "step toward decency in human relations that should have been taken in 1619," and merely an early step in a lengthy, ongoing journey.



Vernon Jordan, John Hope Franklin



Left to right: Glenn Loury, Henry Aaron, Phyllis Wallace, Wiley Branton, Louis Nunez, John Slaughter, Gary Orfield, Arthur Fletcher



Left to right: Louis Harris, Julius LeVonne Chambers, David J. Garrow

Basic Goals and Public Attitudes

Franklin's sober comments were echoed by political scientist **David J. Garrow** at the conference's first session on June 28. Garrow, a professor at the City University of New York and author of three books on Martin Luther King, Jr. and the southern civil rights movement, stressed "how relatively modest the actual provisions of the 1964 Act were when compared to the far larger agenda the movement was then setting for itself." Garrow noted the erroneous assertions by some present-day commentators "that 'by 1968, the entire legislative agenda of the civil rights movement had been enacted' . . . that the civil rights movement simply sought the elimination of explicit, formal racial discrimination, that it trumpeted a 'colorblind' approach to American life, that it was concerned with 'process' and 'opportunity,' and not with substantive outcomes or tangible results." Criticizing the "stunning inaccuracy" of such portrayals of the civil rights movement's goals, Garrow said that the movement's more basic challenge to America's *economic* subordination and exploitation of racial minorities is often ignored or downplayed today. Numerous socioeconomic indicators reflect that most black Americans have benefited little, if at all, from the statutory changes of the 1960s, and Garrow foresaw little possibility of present-day activists generating much support for the "truly redistributive economic policies" that Dr. King and other movement leaders had advocated in the mid- and late-1960s. He conceded that some might find his perspective "excessively pessimistic," but noted that the conclusions of numerous scholars, such as University of Chicago sociologist William J. Wilson, point toward a bleak economic future for black America and "the urban black underclass" in particular.

Noted civil rights attorney **Julius LeVonne Chambers**, now executive director of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, took issue with what he saw as the unduly critical assessments of the 1964 Act propounded by Franklin and Garrow. Chambers said that such emphasis on the law's modesty seemed to parallel current efforts "to limit its reach." Such interpretations, he continued, might "serve as a further vehicle for this administration to limit the intended meaning of the Act" and seemed contrary to "what we considered then and what I would consider today the real meaning of the Act."

Pollster **Louis Harris**, offering an expert's view of public opinion on civil rights since the 1960s, highlighted the growing political

awareness of America's black electorate but voiced a less hopeful outlook for genuine understanding between the races. "Blacks sense correctly," Harris explained,

that the white community simply doesn't know what it's like to be black in America in the mid-1980s. They feel that white America by 1984 has not progressed a whole lot from white America all through their long history on this continent. Indeed, we tested this recently by asking the public what they thought had happened to the status of blacks since Ronald Reagan came into office. Among blacks, only 33 percent said nothing had changed and only 8 percent said they were better off. A clear majority of 57 percent said they were worse off. Among whites, by contrast, 53 percent saw no change for blacks under Reagan, 17 percent said they were worse off, and a *higher* 25 percent said they were *better off*.

Such a tremendous gap between black and white perceptions of black economic conditions, Harris suggested, could only bode ill for America.

Former National Urban League executive director **Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.** explicitly endorsed Franklin's and Garrow's characterizations of the 1964 Act and emphasized that implementation of the act's provisions has been a recurring problem, especially in recent years. The act has had the important effect, however, of "democratizing" black leadership, and thus, according to Jordan, there have emerged over twenty years' time "five new definable classes of black leadership that were virtually nonexistent in 1964"—black elected officials; "blacks who hold quasi-public, quasi-private positions," and "directly affect public policy" (foundation executives, for example); "blacks who have pierced the corporate veil," either by sitting on corporate boards or by holding management positions; "indigenous leadership" at the local level, whose valuable role has recently acquired added political influence; and "the new black entrepreneur."

Effects of the Civil Rights Act

The conference's second session, which focused on the impact of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, was chaired by attorney **Wiley Branton**, former director of the Voter Education Project. Economist **Phyllis A. Wallace**, professor of management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, presented a detailed analysis of how Title VII of the 1964 act, which prohibited discrimination in all aspects of the employment process, has affected black economic progress over the ensuing twenty years. "Statistics on employment and income in the 1980s indicate that, relative to whites, blacks are apparently no better off than they were two decades ago," Wallace observed. "Great economic disparities separate blacks and whites." While studies "indicate some success for affirmative action in increasing employment and upgrading occupational status between 1974 and 1980," since then "we have suffered a major setback." Although numerous individual economic success stories can be cited, Wallace concluded, "the economic gains attained by blacks during the past twenty years that can be associated with implementation of the

Left to right: Milton D. Morris, David Broder, Charles V. Hamilton, Mervyn Dymally, Antonia Hernandez, John Lewis



employment discrimination laws are far less than what advocates of these policies had initially expected. . . . **Henry Aaron**, a senior economist at the Brookings Institution, Harvard professor **Glenn Loury**, and former assistant secretary of Labor **Arthur A. Fletcher** discussed Wallace's analysis, placing it in the context of historical developments and current socioeconomic trends.

University of Chicago political scientist **Gary Orfield**, a nationally known expert on educational desegregation, presented the second major paper at this conference session. He implicitly took issue with the more critical perspectives of Franklin, Garrow, and Wallace. The impact of the 1964 act's education provisions "has been pervasive and has extended far beyond the issues to which enforcement was initially addressed," Orfield said. "Its enforcement transformed southern education. Between 1964 and 1970, the South changed from the most to the least segregated region in the United States." However, Orfield noted, meaningful enforcement of the Act's school desegregation mandate ended with the Johnson administration in 1969, and "there has been very little significant progress since that period ended." Not only has the Reagan administration "refused to enforce the Civil Rights Act," but "it has stopped collecting much of the basic data essential for enforcement of the law," Orfield pointed out. Thus, he concluded, "in spite of the proof that the Civil Rights Act can powerfully reduce discrimination," its longstanding nonenforcement had sapped its provisions of their remarkable potential strength. Unless "there is a rededication to enforcement of the law, the Civil Rights Act could become as meaningless as the Reconstruction era civil rights laws that were vitiated in the late nineteenth century." Dr. **John Slaughter**, Chancellor of the University of Maryland, and **Louis Nunez**, president of the National Puerto Rican Coalition, affirmed Professor Orfield's pessimistic view of current trends in educational opportunity.

Politics, Coalitions, and Civil Rights

The conference's third and final session, chaired by the Joint Center's director of research, **Milton D. Morris**, considered developments in black political empowerment since 1964 and the major alterations that the civil rights coalition has undergone over the past twenty years. Columbia University political scientist **Charles V. Hamilton** discussed the question of an economically oriented civil rights agenda that had been raised at the conference's initial session. Such an agenda, Hamilton stated,

inevitably calls for a proactive government, one that sees government doing more, not less as a stimulant to effect socioeconomic change. But many former allies in the old civil rights coalition do not sincerely and philosophically believe in such a governmental role. In fact, they do not see this as a "civil rights" matter in the traditional sense of that term. They favor a more market-oriented economy: less government regulation, less government initiative and intervention. They are fiscal conservatives, and they do not see this as inconsistent with their earlier support for a civil liberties-oriented civil rights movement.



Donna Shalala, Arthur Flemming

"The old coalition," Hamilton explained, has fractured over basically philosophical differences over the role of government in the economy. If this is the problem, its implications are reasonably clear. It requires new coalitions that might well not depend on the same active participants of the old coalition. Some of these earlier participants simply have a different relationship to the economy. They are not prepared to enlist in a political struggle that challenges the fundamental premises of a market economy. They are less vulnerable, less at risk than some of their previous allies. They do not perceive or feel the same threat from current economic conditions as their former civil rights allies. Thus, the new coalition will have to build on the convergence of interests of those who share similar positions of economic vulnerability.

What this then suggests, Hamilton said is "more conscious efforts to fashion policies and strategies that seek 'deracialized' solutions to economic policies. For example, 'full employment' and government-supported health policies ought to be seen as beneficial to an array of groups that cuts across racial lines." However, Hamilton noted, "the liberal-progressive coalition that might be formed to pursue the economic agenda" likely would not be a coalition able to agree on many of the affirmative action legal remedies that civil rights proponents have emphasized in recent years. "Some people," he said, "will see the latter as containing zero-sum results they are not willing to live with, notwithstanding their otherwise liberal leanings. And in the process of deciding what goals to pursue, the present-day civil rights movement has to make some clear strategic choices."

"In the final analysis," Hamilton concluded, the basic challenge to the civil rights movement twenty



years after the 1964 Act is to confront the difficult choices of whether to continue to emphasize race-specific goals (in recognition of obvious past ills) or to emphasize more holistic policies and strategies that are aimed at advancing racial interests while at the same time incorporating other groups in a political alliance aimed at challenging fundamental socioeconomic structural problems. To choose the latter is to alter the traditional understanding of the 'civil rights movement.' But at the same time it puts that movement precisely where it has always been—at the vanguard of leadership for change in American society.

Washington Post political correspondent **David Broder**, Atlanta city council member and movement veteran **John Lewis**, and **Ralph Neas**, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, all added their thoughts to Hamilton's analysis. Neas, sounding a distinctly different note than other speakers, contended that "the last three and a half years on Capitol Hill have generally been good years" for the civil rights coalition, and that that record of success—extension and strengthening of the Voting Rights Act, passage of the Martin Luther King, Jr. national holiday bill, and blunting of various "new right" initiatives—oftentimes had been "an untold story in the press."

Neas gave equal emphasis, however, to the way the Reagan administration "seizes every opportunity to weaken the law and to restrict the remedies that have long been available to minorities, to women, and to other parts of the civil rights constituency," efforts that can be defeated only if civil rights proponents energetically communicate this story to the American people. "It's no different from the states' rights talk of the fifties and sixties: 'separate but equal,' 'freedom of choice.'"

The conference's final session also featured a panel discussion involving U.S. Representative **Mervyn Dymally** (D-CA); Hunter College President **Donna Shalala**; Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) vice-president **Antonia Hernandez**; **Judith Lichtman**, executive director of the Women's Legal Defense Fund; and former U.S. Civil Rights Commission chairman **Arthur Flemming**, now chairman of the Citizen's Commission on Civil Rights. The participants offered several prescriptions for building and expanding the present-day political

strength of the "civil rights coalition." Ms. Hernandez of MALDEF observed that "our coalition building has begun at the leadership level, but it has not filtered down to our respective groups, and unless we take it upon ourselves to educate our people and to educate other groups about why it's important for us to coalesce . . . this broad coalition and the potential political power that it might bring will not be fulfilled."

Arthur Flemming, echoing Ralph Neas's remarks, noted that over the last three and one-half years "the executive branch has provided the kind of leadership that has moved us backward instead of forward in the civil rights area." Agreeing with Hernandez, Flemming said that the coalition must work at the grass roots level to focus voters' attention on the administration's civil rights record and dedicate itself "to bringing about a reversal of what has been taking place during the last three and a half years."

Each of the conference's sessions highlighted the underlying tension between two different but not opposite perspectives on civil rights developments since the landmark 1964 act became law. One perspective, articulated by speakers like Chambers, Orfield, and Neas, stressed the substantial gains and potential that the Civil Rights Act exemplified. The second, articulated by Franklin, Garrow, and Wallace, emphasized the relative modesty of recent gains. Yet speakers for both perspectives took a dim view of the present political climate and threatening future facing traditional civil rights forces. Nonetheless, as Hamilton's, Hernandez's and Flemming's remarks all indicated, current activists take this situation as a challenge to develop new coalitions and strategies that will prove effective in the present environment.

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Left to right: Coretta Scott King, Frank Press, Eddie N. Williams

Health Problems, Political Cures

by Christiane B. Hale

(Dr. Hale is an associate professor in the Department of Epidemiology at the University of Alabama (Birmingham) School of Public Health. This paper reflects her views and not those of the school or the university.)

Nearly three years after the 1981 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, which embodied the "Reagan Revolution" in social programs, students of public health—including elected officials charged with policy implementation—are clamoring for news of its effects. But the information needed to measure effects nationwide is not readily available. It seems that one consequence of budget-cutting is a clogging of the information pipeline: it is late 1984, and detailed information about the health status of Americans is available only for 1981.

We do, however, have some information from states, counties, cities, and towns that signals where the burdens are falling. This information suggests that women and children have suffered most under the budget cuts. For example, according to annual statistical reports from each of the 50 states, it appears that by 1982:

- The percentage of pregnant women receiving prenatal care late in their pregnancies or not at all increased from a range of 3-5 percent to one of 6-10 percent. Black women were twice as likely to have late care or none.
- Program freezes or reductions created numerous situations in which poor women and children were unable to obtain any medical care: money available for medical care of indigent women was cut by 18 percent, and the number of children living in poverty rose by 30 percent with no commensurate increase in health care funding. Also, the benefits paid to these children's families by Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) declined.

These cuts affect the black community disproportionately. The reasons for this are complex, and include differences in the age structure of the black population (which is younger than the white population), the dependency of blacks on the now vulnerable public health system, and a pattern among black women of beginning childbearing at younger ages and before stable unions are established.

Overall, in 1980 the U.S. population was about 12 percent black. Yet over 16 percent of the babies born in 1981 were black, and almost 16 percent of preschoolers and children 5 to 14 years old are black. Cuts in programs aimed at these age groups, then, will affect blacks more heavily than whites. Such cuts include reductions in Medicaid expenditures for children and a drastic redesign of AFDC.

In discussions of the "safety net," women and children tend to be grouped with the elderly. Yet, as William O'Hare noted in the July issue of this journal, benefits to the elderly have been maintained or increased, while expenditures for children have been cut.

Comparing Health Status

Budget cuts appear to have increased the long-standing disparity between the health status of black women and children and their white counterparts. The infant mortality rate (the number of deaths in a group of babies who have not yet had their first birthday) is widely accepted as the best measure of a

group's health status. Despite its apparently high standard of living, the United States has one of the highest infant mortality rates of all industrialized nations—higher, even, than those of Spain, Ireland, or Italy.

In fact, however, the infant mortality rate for whites is about 7 deaths per thousand births, almost as low as the infant mortality rates of Sweden, Norway, and other nations with the lowest rates. It is the rate for dark-skinned minorities (over 90 percent of whom are black) that pushes the overall rate up so high; the minority rate is 14 to 16 per thousand live births, nearly twice that of whites.

There are no obvious biological reasons for this difference. Rather, blacks are more likely to be poor, putting them at risk in a country that, alone among industrialized nations, has a dual health care system for women and children. Those who have the means purchase health care in the private sector. Those who do not are dependent on the public sector. And because of poverty, black mothers and children are disproportionately dependent on public-sector care. Since funding for public health care has been reduced drastically by the recent cuts, black women and their children have borne the burden.

Many studies from local communities suggest that the infant mortality gap has widened, especially in the last two years. In some areas, infant mortality rates of blacks are like those in developing nations; in Washington, D.C., for example, 29 black babies per thousand die before reaching one year of age, compared with a rate of 34 deaths per thousand births in Honduras. In those same areas, infant mortality rates of whites are at or below the U.S. rate for whites. This pattern is particularly likely to occur where there is no public sector care (an increasingly common phenomenon in the 1980s) and where private practitioners are either nonexistent or unwilling to accept Medicaid. In 12 of Alabama's 67 counties, for example, there is no prenatal care for poor women.

Many black families that are dependent on public sector care are without a father or other adult male (over 70 percent of black children live in such families). Many of these families are headed by women who first became pregnant as teenagers. Teenage mothers often leave school—frequently under pressure from school authorities. Poorly educated, these mothers are unable to compete in an increasingly demanding job market. They tend to get less-than-adequate prenatal care and their babies are twice as likely to be low weight (under 5-½ lbs.) at birth. Low-weight babies are more likely to die or to suffer lifelong handicaps than normal-weight babies.

These children's fathers are disproportionately unemployed or underemployed, and in 27 states, if they live with their families the families lose eligibility for AFDC and related benefits, including Medicaid coverage. In other words, in over half the states, poor families with men living at home are barred from benefits paid to equally poor families headed by women. This policy is rooted in the attempt 50 years ago to alleviate the Depression-era plight of widows and orphans, but ironically, policies originally intended to protect families now are harmful to them. These policies, too, affect black women and children disproportionately.

(Continued on page 7)

Blacks and the 1990 Census

by William O'Hare

(The author is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Although 1990 may seem a long way off, people at the Census Bureau are already planning the next census. Because of the massive size of the census-taking operation (over 100 million census questionnaires will be printed and probably more than a quarter million employees hired and trained), plans have to be made early. During the next year or two, some of the most crucial questions regarding how the census will be conducted will have to be resolved to make sure everything is ready by April 1, 1990.

Part of the planning process consists of a series of public meetings in which the Census Bureau solicits input from interested citizens. Several of these meetings have already been held, and many more will be conducted over the next several months. Listed below are the dates and locations of the forthcoming meetings, which provide an opportunity for citizens to bring up the problems their communities encountered in the 1980 census and to discuss ways in which the Census Bureau might eliminate the problems in 1990.

A few issues are of particular importance to blacks. In the 1980 census, as in previous ones, blacks were missed at a much higher rate than whites. This "undercount" has negative ramifications that may not be immediately apparent. A large number of federal and state programs use census figures to distribute public funds. Over \$100 billion in federal funds alone are allocated to states and localities on the basis, in part, of census figures. Consequently, undercounts by the census can result in a community not receiving all the federal and state funds to which it is entitled. In many other areas as well, such as politics or business, undercounts diminish the perceived size of a group or community and, perhaps indirectly, the amount of attention it receives. For example, businesses use census figures to make marketing and site location decisions.

Reapportionment of the U.S. Congress is based on census data, and the census figures are also used to draw new political districts in states and localities every 10 years. To assess the likely impact of a redistricting plan on black voting strength, it is important to have an accurate reflection of where the black population lives. Undercounts obviously muddle the picture.

Another aspect of the census-taking process that is especially important to blacks is the temporary jobs the decennial census creates. Over a quarter million people were hired for the 1980 census. While most of these jobs are not very high paying, for low-income blacks, the money could be a welcome addition to regular income. Furthermore, hiring black enumerators for black neighborhoods is thought to reduce resistance to the census-taking process, and thus reduce the undercount of blacks.

One of the big questions in planning for the 1990 census is how much the process will be automated. A high level of automation could mean that many of the jobs formerly available at census time would be lost. Those who are hired, however, should receive valuable training and experience in automated data processing.

In the current political climate, the budget for the 1990 census could be a target for cutbacks. Some of

the cost-cutting recommendations may have negative effects on the count of blacks. Outreach efforts in the 1980 census appear to have reduced the undercount of blacks from about 7.5 percent in 1970 to 5.0 percent in 1980. But these outreach and promotion efforts cost money and are likely candidates for elimination if the bureau's budget is tight.

The year 1990 seems very distant, but to ensure that the needs and viewpoints of black communities are reflected in the 1990 census, blacks must become involved now, during the planning stages.

Dates and Locations, Census Bureau Public Meetings (starting time is around 8:30 a.m.)

11/1/84	Louisville, KY—	Jefferson County Courthouse
11/8/84	Albany, NY—	Cultural Education Center Auditorium, Empire State Plaza
11/15/84	Oklahoma City, OK—	Myriad Convention Center
11/27/84	Los Angeles, CA—	Water and Power Auditorium
11/29/84	Sacramento, CA—	State Capitol, Hearing Rm. 4202
12/4/84	Little Rock, AR—	Univ. of Arkansas, Little Rock, Conference Center Excelsior Hotel
12/6/84	Baton Rouge, LA—	Louisiana State Library Auditorium
1/10/85	San Francisco—	to be announced
3/5/85	San Juan, PR—	"
3/9/85	Montgomery, AL—	"
3/15/85	Washington, DC—	"
3/26/85	Phoenix, AZ—	"
4/17/85	Providence, RI—	"
4/18/85	Hartford, CT—	"
4/24/85	Richmond, VA—	"
5/7/85	Topeka, KS—	"
5/8/85	Jefferson, MO—	"
6/16/85	Harrisburg, PA—	"
5/23/85	Pittsburg, PA—	"
6/11/85	Anchorage, AK—	"
6/12/85	Juneau, AK—	"
6/18/85	St. Paul, MN—	"
6/19/85	Des Moines, IA—	"

Telescope

BEO Business Meetings

Several of the organizations of black elected officials will be holding meetings during the next couple of months. For further information, contact people are listed for the forthcoming sessions.

National Conference of Black Mayors

Mid-Year Meeting

October 26-27, 1984

Howard Inn

Washington, D.C.

Contact: Sam Tucker (202) 628-1411

National Black Caucus of State Legislators

Annual Meeting

November 27-December 2, 1984

Los Angeles Hilton

Los Angeles, California

Contact: Reesa McMurtry (202) 624-5457

National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials

Annual Meeting

November 23-28, 1984

Indiana Convention Center

Indianapolis, Indiana

Contact: Alice Hans (202) 626-3510

To all black elected officials:

Each of you should have received at least one questionnaire from the Joint Center asking for current information for the 1985 edition of *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster*.

We thank those of you who have returned the questionnaire and urge the rest of you to do so promptly.

Employment Recovery Bypasses Blacks

After many months at record-breaking levels, the unemployment rate—7.5 percent—is back down to about where it was just prior to the 1981-82 recession. But for many segments of the population—blacks, Hispanics, youth—the unemployment rate is considerably higher than the overall figure and higher than it was prior to the recession. And the number of discouraged workers (those who have given up looking for work and who are not counted among the officially unemployed) has increased by more than 200,000, up from about 1 million in 1981 to 1.3 million in August 1984.

The biggest unemployment problems continue to be among blacks and teens. While the unemployment rate for blacks has declined significantly below its peak during the recession, when it was 20 percent, it is still more than double the overall rate and significantly higher than it was in July 1981. And one out of every three discouraged workers is black. The unemployment rate for black teens—41 percent, the highest unemployment rate for any subgroup by far—is 2.6 times that of white teens.

The Full Employment Action Council, along with the Americans for Democratic Action, the Children's Defense Fund, the Roosevelt Centennial Youth Project, and other groups, has issued a report entitled *Whose Recovery Is It Anyway?* which takes a close look at unemployment among those segments of the population that the recent recovery seems to have overlooked. The report is available from the Full

Employment Action Council, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202/393-7415).

Unemployment Rates

	July 1981	August 1984
Overall	7.0%	7.5%
Whites	6.2%	6.4%
Blacks	13.6%	16.0%
Hispanics	9.9%	10.7%
Teens	18.1%	18.4%
Black teens	40.0%	41.7%

Figures are from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Full Employment Action Council.

District of Columbia Honors Frank D. Reeves

On September 28, District Mayor Marion Barry and City Council Chairman David Clarke signed legislation naming the new D.C. Municipal Center at 14th and U Streets, N.W., in honor of Frank D. Reeves. Mr. Reeves, who died in 1973, was the Joint Center's first executive director, serving from 1970 to 1972. He also played a major role in the center's founding. Prior to his work with the center, Mr. Reeves had distinguished himself in several areas: he advised President John F. Kennedy on minority affairs; as assistant counsel to Thurgood Marshall, he was involved in many civil-rights cases during the 1950s and 60s; he served on the faculty of Howard University's School of Law, and just prior to joining JCPS, he was a fellow at the Metropolitan Applied Research Center.

... Political Cures

(Continued from page 5)

Solving the Problems

By now it should be clear that the health problems of mothers and children—infant mortality, low birth weights, teenage pregnancy—are actually social and political problems. Infant mortality rates among blacks do not *have* to be twice those of whites. Teenage pregnancy does not *have* to trigger a life of chronic despair. Being a poor family does *not* have to mean living without a father. Nor do female-headed families *have* to be poor.

Moreover, the health problems of mothers and children are important *black* issues. If a state legislature fails to appropriate funds to supplement the ever-decreasing federal funding of Medicaid, Title V (prenatal and well-child care), and Title X (family planning), most of those who do without care will be black. If a state fails to cover "optional Medicaid" families (those with a man at home), most families driven apart will be black. If a city or town cuts support for local hospitals, most of those suffering will be black mothers and children.

Although we cannot yet be certain of the health effects of recent budget cuts, we can reasonably guess that those who suffer most will be mothers and children dependent on public health programs, most of whom are black. Their suffering is needless, but it will continue unless the leadership at all levels of government appreciates the importance of the issues discussed here. If we allow the children now enduring poverty—one child in five generally and one of every two black children—to suffer today, we will all suffer tomorrow.

A Dangerous Indifference

by Joan Ganz Cooney

(Ms. Cooney is president of the Children's Television Workshop. The following article is adapted from a speech she gave before the American Association of University Women.)

Indifference is the prevailing national attitude toward children. While our major political and industrial rivals are spending billions to realize the potential of their youth, we tighten school budgets and cut back on science education. Even now, science and mathematics form the core of educational programs in Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union.

Indifference becomes dangerous neglect when considered in light of the assertion by Karl Menninger, a renowned American psychiatrist, that "what a society does to its children, they—the children—will do to that society." And if children generally are met with indifference, consider the plight of poor children, a virtually mute minority who lack vocal and potent representatives.

I wonder whether we, as a nation, are aware that we risk losing our position as a leading industrial power if we persist in our indifference toward children. We seem to have forgotten that cuts in social spending are not risk-free in an advanced industrial society such as ours. We should know by now that cutting budgets does not eliminate the needs; it only allows them to pile up. Not only will we lose the productive adults this country needs, but at the same time we will continue to incur enormous social costs such as welfare payments and increased crime.

What's more, there is no "economy" involved if, in the end, we must spend \$30,000 each year to keep a person in jail when a comparable amount, invested earlier for education and training, might have made that same person a productive member of society. Spending to improve the health, literacy, and math and science skills of our children must be seen as an investment in the country's future. *Changed Lives*, a recently released study of a preschool project in Ypsilanti, Michigan, showed that by age 19 children who had had the advantage of a high-quality preschool education were twice as likely to have jobs or attend college; they were also involved in 20 percent fewer arrests, detentions, and dropouts.

As Adam Smith noted two centuries ago, "The skill, dexterity, and knowledge of a nation's people is the most powerful engine of its economic growth." And this engine is fueled by education.

A Role for Television

Children's television is another excellent indicator of how this country views its children. Television is our most powerful and most pervasive medium for educating (as well as entertaining and informing) the nation's youth. In a time of compressed educational budgets, television is still a cost-effective way to reach millions of young people. Yet this valuable resource is sorely underused.

Right now, there is not a single daily quality show for children on commercial television. Public television, once the premier source of quality children's programming, now has only one original daily series on the air year-round: "Sesame Street." The science series, "3-2-1 Contact," adds new programs each year, but does not yet have enough new shows coming on stream to broadcast throughout the year. Other PBS children's shows are either being repeated or have been cancelled.

One can only conclude that our society does not value children highly enough to offer them something more than mindless cartoons on Saturday mornings or empty, so-called "adventure" series in prime time. Current television programming, then, would seem to confirm further our national indifference toward children.

This is especially troubling in an age when children are watching so much television that the medium has acquired a formative role in their social and intellectual development. Its impact seems particularly strong on low-income children, making it doubly important that we use it constructively.

Research has confirmed television's great potential for developing the skills, knowledge, mind, and character of children. Although the precise methods for the effective educational use of television are still being developed, we must not allow its promise to go unfulfilled. Nor can we become complacent in the search for other means of overcoming a dangerous indifference to our children—our future.

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